M Ralfe Rookbye.

AN HARBOROVVE FOR FAITH-FVLL AND TREVVE SVBIECTES,

agaynst the late blowne Blaste, concerninge the Gouernmēt of VVemen. wherin be confuted all such reasons as a straunger of late made in that behalfe, with a breife exhortation to OBEDIENCE.

Anno. M.D.lix.

PROVERBES. 32.

Many daughters there be, that gather riches to gether: but thou goest aboue them all. As for fauour it is deceitfull, and bewtie is a vaine thing: but a vvoman that feareth the Lord: she is vvorthie to be praysed. Geue her of the fruit of her handes, and let her ovvne vvorkes prayse her in the gate.

¶ At Strasborowe the. 26. of Aprill.

To the right honorable and his ſinguler good Lordes, Francis Earle of Bedford one of the Quenes Maieſties priuie Counſell, and the Lord Robert Duddeley, maſter of her highnes horſſe, and knight of the honorable order of the Garter. Thauthour wiſſheth many quiet dayes, the continuall feare of God, and earneſt zeale in Chriſtes quarrell.

THE moſte noble and excellēt philoſopher Plutark reporteth (moſt honorable) that bulles fleſhe corrupted and rotten, be ingendred Bees, of horſe fleſh Harnets, and of mēs ſerpentes. VVhereby not only appeareth the great diuerſity of natures in the diuerſities of kindes, but alſo (whiche is no ſmall wōder) how of that which is moſte made of, and eſtemed, is bred the worſt and vileſt corruption, of that, which in oure eies is the beautifulleſt worke of nature, ſpringeth forth the fouleſt frute, that is, or can be found in nature. No creature in this world is counted more excellente than man: and no monſtre in ſighte more ouglie, and in nature more hurtfull than a ſerpent, ſo that we ſee that of the faireſt, cometh the fouleſt, of the beſt loued, the moſt hated, of the moſt holſōe the moſt venimous, and to be ſhort, of the fineſt in our eies, the filthieſt in oure iudgement. VVherby God geueth vs to vnderſtand, that miſcheuous matter lieth oft hidden in fair veſſels, and no litle ill, where we think to find moſt good. If

this poiſoned venim, be in the bodye of man, to engender ſerpents: ſhall we thinke that the minde is pure? No certenly. For though it bringeth not fourth (being corrupted and rotten with error) ſerpents, adders, and ſnakes: yet be the buds of that tree, either as ill, or muche vvorſe. For like as a man inhabiting a ſtinking, filthye, and vnholſome houſe, ſituate in a corrupt and vnclean aire, can not be but ſubiect to that contagion: ſo theſe mindes of ours, beinge lodged in ſo impure an harborowe, muſte neades be defiled with the filthe. VVherfore the Apoſtle crieth oute, qui in carne ſunt, deo placere non poſſunt, ſo long as we remain in this fleſhe, we can not pleaſe God. The cauſe of this corrupcion, no chriſtian is ſo vnſkilful, but he knoweth it to be the dotage of our firſte parentes, conueied into the vaines of their mindes firſt, and their bodies nexte by the venimous breath, of that ſubtil ſerpent our auncient ennemy. VVhome, while they harkned vnto, they became ſo charmed and bewitched: that they forgate them ſelues, forſoke God, and became of hys deare ſonnes, his extreme enemies, of his obediente and louing ſeruaunts, his wilful and obſtinate rebels, and confederats with his ſworne ennemye the deuill. Here we finde the cauſe, and we daily fele theffect, in that we be in al things by nature repining at the wil of God, ready to follow the will of the fleſh, winſing and kicking againſt godlines and truthe, and on the other ſide, euer huntinge for fleſhlines and lies. Out of this corrupted puddle of mās hart, or rather out of this forge and ſhop of Sathan, where ſinne is wroughte and ſhapen: breaketh forth amonge the reaſte of monſters, (which it bringeth out) the horrible hydras of errors, ſects ād hereſies wherwith the world hath ſence the beginning, and to thending ſhalbe poiſoned and infected. Hereof ſprāg the curious contencions and ſoundry ſectes of Ethnike Philoſophers, as Academians, Peripateticās, Stoikes, Epicures, Cynikes, and all that rabble. Here budded or rather ſlowed furth

the hor-

the horrible and moſt hurtful hereſies, hatched by the deuel, in the neſt of mans mind, and vttered by the tōg and pen of buſy bodies, ſealed vp to ſerue Satan in this kind of miniſtery. Such wer in our ancettors dais, the Nycolaitans, the Cerinthians, Arrians, Macedonians, Pelagians, Eutychians, Eunomians, Neſtorians and ſuch other. And in theſe our latter daies, the old feſtred ſores newly broken out, as the Anabaptiſtes, the freewillers, or rather frowardewillers, the iuſticiaries. &c, and others that be new, as Adiaphoriſtes, Oſerianiſtes, Maroraniſtes, Papiſts, with infinit other ſwarms of gods enemies, by whom our aduerſari Satan ſeketh to diſturb the true vnitie of Chriſtes church, to choke the good corn of late ſown in gods field, and to dim that excellent lighte, whiche according to his ſecreate counſell and decree, he determined ſhuld ſhine to the vnſpeakeable cōfort of his elect, in theſe our dais. Among theſe vgglie monſters and brodes of the deuils brotherhead, hath of late krept out (I cā not tel whether by wil or ignorance) certen πολιφθάρματα which haue called into queſtion among vs ſuch thinges, as good ſubiectes before neuer doubted of, whether it wer lawful for women, inheritours of kingdoms, to gouern and guid the ſame, or no. Although this error may appeare, not to touch ſo neare the ſoule and ſaluacion of man, as ſome of the fornamed do: yet conſidering that the quiet of common weales is the nurſe of religion and bulwark of good and faithful men: and that the apoſtle pronounceth againſt the rebellious vtter damnaciō: VVe can not think it to be a triſle to diſturbe the common ordres of polliçies, to ſondre the mindes of ſubiectes, by new inuented contrauerſies, and briefly to make men to muſe, of that they neuer before miſtruſted. Vvherfor chaunſing vpon a boke, about a yere paſt, intitled the firſt blaſt, cōteining new broched doctrine to diſproue the regiment of women: After I had red it, I wiſhed that ſome notable learned man, wold haue anſwered it, that, like as thoſe which be ſtonge of

Scorpians vſe to fetch remeady of the ſame: ſo this cauſe being wounded, or rather a little ſcratted with ſom ſhewe and apparāce of learning: might be again healed with ſuche plaiſters as through the truthe of the matter, true lerning miniſtreth. And for as much as I hoped of this at ſom mens hāds and hard of one, which is now gon to God, that he had takē it vpon him: I ment not my ſelf for a time to medle with it, leaſt that a good cauſe by il handling, ſhuld in the iudgmēt of ſom ſeme the worſe. But whan the length of time taught me that he that mēt, it was takē frō it, ād ſuch as could haue throughly don it, made no haſt to it: I thoughte it better rather by my ſclendre handling of it to ſhew mi good wil, thā by the common ſilence to ſeme to winke at it. And ſo much the rather I toke it in hand: becauſe if no mā ſhuld do it: all our ſide ſhuld ſeme to bear with it, which I knowe to be ſo far of: that none that I know (I ſpeake of the learned) be further gilty in this poynt, than that by ther declaration they haue not ſhewed thē ſelues giltles. I know the credit, the old prouerb hath, qui tacet cōſētire videtur, he that winketh at a matter, ſemeth to think the ſame. And therfore as it was neceſſary that ſom in the behalf of al, ſhuld vtter the minds of the reſt, ſo ment I, though more boldly thē wiſely, yet not ſo raſhly as neceſſarily, nor as I truſt more rudely thē profitably, to let the world vnderſtād that this infectiō is not blown in by the blaſt to al mens breaſts, yea I dare be bold to ſaye that al the beſt learned be of the ſame iudgemēt herein that this my ſimple treatiſe ſhall vtter me to be of. So that neither our ſworn enemies the papiſts ſhal haue any lōger leaſure to belie vs, nor our half frends which are indifferēt to be leue any thing of vs, hereafter to miſtruſt vs, nor the highe powers thē ſelues in this point to feare vs. we haue lerned ād taught, we loue and like, we honor and eſteme true obediēce to the high miniſtres of God, and on the contrarye we can no ſkil of ſeditious diſturbers of wel ſatled policies, of raſhe vnbrideled brekers of holſome and godlye lawes. Thus me thinke I may ſaye in the name of al, becauſe I know the cōtrary opinion to be in fewe or none. VVherfore let our ene

mies leaue of thus to charge vs, in that we deſerue not, & our frindes to miſtruſt vs, in that they certainlye knowe not, or els they ſhall be reproued of loude lying, and theſe of to vnfrendly miſiudging. Nolite ante tempus iudicare, iudge not before the time, for haſty iudgement ſeldom hitteth the truthe. Now whan I had finiſhed this ſimple anſwere: I coulde find none to whom I might commend theſe firſte frutes of my labors, more mete, or worthier then your honors, bothe for that you be no les carefull for the quiet of the ſtate, the ſafety of our ſoueraign, and the welth of the whole realme, than for your own life ād preſeruacion, but alſo, that it hath pleaſed the geuer of all good giftes, to endue you with a ſingulare fauouro and deſire to aduaunce and promote the true doctrin of Chriſtes croſſe, which of late thorow the power of darknes, the mēbres of antichriſtes and Sathans garde, hath not onli ben obſcured, but clene defaced ād was like ſtil to be if God inſpired not the hart of our Engliſh Helena, ād ſuch as be about her, to ſeke out ād dig vp his ſōnes cros out of the dōghil of the deuils doctrin, ād to rear vp again in the eies of her ſubiects, to the vnſpekeable cōfort of al Chriſtes mēbres ād the wōderful cōfuſiō of thaduerſaries. In the doing wher of no mā douteth, but that you both with a few other haue and wilbe erneſt, harty, ād faithful laborers. And as this heuēly gift ād godly zele is comon to you both: ſo hath almighty God ſuffred you both to taſt of the bitter cup of afflictiō ād aduerſitie, (though thone more thē thother: yet both ſufficiently) therby teaching you plainly by practiſe that which is hardlye gotten by ſcience, that he is hable to throwe downe and ſet vp, to wounde and to cure, to marre and to make, to kyll, and to reuiue, and ſhortlye to do all that he lyſteth wythoute vs, and we nothing neither to him, our ſelues, nor other without him. Afflictio dat intellectū ſaith Dauid. Afflictiō bringeth vnderſtanding, both howe vnhable we be to crepe out, and how ready he is to deliuer. In this ſchole haue you both ben exerciſed and haue atteined to like knowledge to vnderſtād, ad not vnlike zeale to maintain, Chriſt naked

on his croſſe, the true doctrine of ſaluacion, wherof he hathe now made you ſhieldes of defence. Seing he hath thus ioigned you in theſe poyntes and others: I thoughte good wyth your fauors, to match you in the defence of this litle work, which I haue for none other reſpect at this time ſet out, thā to ſtop the mouthes of ſome to lauaſe in language, and to quiet the mindes of other ſome, which for lack of ſkil, haue begone to ſtagger. That it maye pleaſe you to graunte your good wil hercin, craue not I, but your countrye, not youre country, but the truth, not the truth, but God (whoſe choiſe and decree is heare defended) your readines to receiue that is offred, and your authoritie to ſhield that is written. Take vpon you therfore the defence of this pore treatiſe, which is the defence of them, by whome we be defended all. Manye graue and ſore cēſures I am ſure it muſt abide: but my truſt is that ſuch as ſhall finde fault, wil either reprehend charitably or ſet out a better ſpedelye. Thus am I bolde to trouble your Lordſhippes both with my long letter, and my ſimple trauail, truſting that you wil take in good part that is heare offred you of one that honoureth your vertues, oweth you his ſeruice, and dailye prayeth to God for you. VVho graunt you both to be conſtant in his truthe, to continue in his feare, and to increaſe in muche honour to his glory, and your countries commoditie.

Amen.

IKE as ſicke or fe: ble bodies cannot abyde any great panges or fittes, or old cracked ſhippes anye great vvaues or vvindes: ſo diſturbed and maymed common vvealthes are ſone ouerturned and caſt vnder foote, by ſoden and ſtraung mutations. Seing therfor that by frovvning fortune, and Gods vvrath, for thoffences of thinabitantes, Englande is of late both in honour and poſſeſſions, not a lytle maymed, Yea, takinge a fall through the negligence of the Nurce halfe made a creple: It is neceſſary for al good men, & the dutie of all faithfull Subiectes, to haue an eye to it, that it runne not vpon the rockes, and make ſhipp vvrake. And as in great Cities, great hede is geuen, that neither by negligẽce of the Citezins, nor malice of euil vvillers, it be cõſumed by fyre, or hurt by any other caſualtie: So in common vvelthes muſt it be prouided, that no fyre brandes of Sedicion be caſt into the houſes of mens hartes, to impayre thobedience of good Subiectes, to kindle the harts of the frovvard, and to deſtroy honeſt, godly, and comly order. For mans nature being ſuch, as it can hardly be brought to ſtupe, and eaſely ſtirred vp to diſturbe: All occaſions muſt be cut of, vvherby the euyll may be encouraged to caſt of the yocke of obedience, and the ſimple brought into doubt vvhat thei ought to folovv. Happening therfore not longe agone to rede a lytle

booke ſtrangely vvritten by a Straunger, to proue that the rule of VVomen is out of Rule, and not in a cõmon vvelth tollerable: And vvaying at the firſt vvhat harme might come of it, and felyng at the laſt that it hath not a lytle vvounded the conſcience of ſome ſymple, and almoſt cracked the dutie of true Obedience: I thought it more then neceſſary to lay before mens eyes the vntruth of the argument, the vvekenes of the prouſes, and the abſurditie of the vvhole. In the ſiftyng vvherof, I mynd to vſe ſuche modeſtie: that it ſhall appere to all indifferent men, that I ſeke to defend the cauſe, and not to deface the mã, Seing this errour roſe not of malice but of zele: and by loking more to the preſent crueltie, that thẽ vvas vſed: then to the incõuenience that after might follovv. VVherin ſurely his doyng is ſomvvhat to be pardoned: conſideryng the grief that like a good member of that bodie vvhich then ſuffered, he felte to his great ſorovv and trouble. For lyke as the eye being ful of teares, is the more vnable to ſe: So is the mind full of ſorovv much the les hable to iudge. As vve ſe in Euripides Polymneſtor being for his mordring of Polidor⁹ extremeli puniſhed of Hecuba ãd other vvemẽ (vvho pricked out his eyes vvith pins) cryeth out not only agayn them that hurt hym, but agaynſt the vvhole ſexe that neuer came nere him. And in Hippolit⁹ vvho for the faut of his Stepdame Phedra, curſſeth the vvhole kynd. So this Authour ſeyng the tormentes of Martyres, the murdrynge of goodmen, Thimpriſſonment of Innocentes, The racking of the gyltles, The baniſhyng of Chriſt, The

Eurip. in Hecu.

Idem in Hipp.

receiuyng

receiuing of Antechriſte, the ſpoyling of ſubiectes, The mayntenaunce of ſtraungers, The mouing of vvarres, The loſſe of Englandes honour, the purchaſing of hatred, vvhere vve had loue, the procuring of trouble vvhere vve had peax, The ſpending of treaſure vvhere it vvas nedeles, and to be ſhort all out of ioynt: He could not but miſlike that regiment from vvhence ſuch frutes did ſpring. Only in this he vvas not to be excuſed (onles he alledge ignoraunce) that he ſvvarued from the ὑπόθεσις to the θέσις that is frō the particuler queſtion to the generall, as though all the gouernment of the vvhole Sexe vvere againſt nature, Reaſon, Right, and Lavve: becauſe that the preſent ſtate then through the faulte of the perſone, and not of the Sexe, vvas vnnaturall, vnreaſonable, vniuſt, and vnlavvful. If he had kept him in that particular perſon: he could haue ſaid nothing to muche, nor in ſuche vvyſe, as could haue offended any indifferent man. And this againe vvould haue been conſidered: that if the queſtion vvere to be handled, yet vvas it not mete to bring it into doubt at that time, vvhen it could not, nor yet can be, redreſſed (vvere it neuer ſo euill,) vvithout manifeſt and violent vvrōg of thē that be in place. For if it vver vnlavvful (as he vvill haue it) that that Sexe ſhould gouerne; yet is it not vnlavvfull that they ſhould enherit, as hereafter vve ſhal proue. And in this point their enheritaūce is ſo lynked vvith the empyre: that you cā not pluck from them thone vvithout robbing thē of thother. This doubt might better haue been moued vvhē the Sceptre vvas or ſhalbe in the hand of the male. And

ſo if it vvere founde euill (as I am perſvvaded it ſhal ne ier be) it might vvithout the vvronging of any be reformed. But novve being ſtably ſhed by lavve, cõfirmed by cuſtome, and ratefied by common cõſent of all the orders in the Realme: It can be no equitie to take it from them, nor any colour of honeſtie or godlines to moue any plea againſt them. If nature hath geuen it them by birth: hovve dare vve pulle it from them by violence? if God haue called thẽ to it either to ſaue or to ſpille: vvhy ſhould vve repine at that vvhich is Gods vvyl and order? ar vve vyſer thẽ he in beſtovving it: or ſo bolde to alter that he purpoſe ſhould come of it? if he hable vvomen: ſhal vve vnhable them? if he ment not they ſhould miniſtre: he could haue prouided other. Therfore the ſafeſt vvaye is, to let him do his vvill, vvhiche can do beſt, vvhiche can ſee plainly that vvil follovve it, vvhere vve blyndly geſſe and do but grope at it. Per me Reges regunt ſaith vviſdome in the perſon of God, by him reigne they and not by vs. It is hys appoyntment and not ours, for though vve ſomtyme haue the election to chuſe or refuſe this perſon or that (as it is in ſome cõmõ vvelthes) yet becauſe vve be not our ovvn but his: nor haue our hartes in our hãds to ordein vvhat vve liſte, but muſt as vvaxe yelde to his vvurkinge: Therfore it is more agreable to dutie, and a greate deale leſſe ieopardie, to honour his choiſe, rather thẽ to preferre our ovvn. Placeth he a vvoman vveake in nature, feable in bodie, ſofte in courage, vnſkilfull in practiſe, not terrible to the enemy, no Shilde to the ſtynde, vvel, Virtus mea (ſaith he) In infirmitate pficitur.

Vve may not vvithſtãde god

Proue. 6.

My

My ſtrengthe is moſte perfight vvhen you be moſte vveake, if he ioyne to his ſtrengthe: ſhe can not be vveake. If he put to his hande ſhe can not be feable, if he be vvith her vvho can ſtande againſt her? Thou ſhalt not take vvith the any great povver (ſaith he to Gedeon) leſt you thinke to ouercome your enemies by your ovvn ſtrength, and provves, and not by my vvurking and might. It is as eaſy for him to ſaue by fevve as by many, by vveake as by ſtrong, by a vvoman as by a man. Yea his moſte vvõderfull vvorkes are alvvayes vvrought in oure moſte vveakenes, as infinite examples and teſtimonies do ſhevve. Yet meane I not to barre pollicie: vvhẽ vvithout breatch of Gods ordinaunce it may haue place, for pollycie is Gods gifte eyther geuen man immediatly of God, or gottẽ by ſtudy, experience, and practiſe, or vvõne by quickneſſe of vvit. But vvhen God chuſeth him ſelfe by ſending to a king, vvhoſe ſucceſſion is ruled by enheritaunce and lyneall diſcent, no heires male: It is a plain argument, that for ſome ſecret purpoſe he myndeth the female ſhould reigne and gouerne, if vve conſider the vvorkes of God: vve ſhall fynde throughout the vvhole ſcripture: that vvhere vvas leaſt helpe of man or any vvorldly meanes: there vvrought he greateſt vvonders and brought thinges to a moſte happy ende. In the making and framing of the heauen the earth and all that in them is conteyned, vvho put to his hande to helpe? vvhat felovve had he to ſo excellent a vvorke? did he it not himſelf vvithout any tovvardnes of matter, any helpe of any meanes, either of aungels or man? And that moſte

2. Cor. 12.

Iud. 17.

Iud. 5.

Pollicie gods gift.

God vvorketh in vveaknes.

Gen. 1.

bevvtifull and excellent image of him ſelſe man, did he not ſhape him ſelfe of a moſte vnmete matter, a pece of earth, a thing of naught, hovve ſo euer Galene foliſhly derideth it, ſaying that nature choſe the meteſt matter for euery vvoorke? Preſeruid he not mankinde, and the ſtate of al other lyuing creatures, by one ſhippe? vvherin if a mā vvil ſearch by reaſon and not by Gods omnipotencie, hovve one veſſell coulde holde ſo many couples of beaſtes, foules, vvormes. &c. And if it could: hovv ſo many ſtraūge, diuers, and contrary natures ſhould agree together pynned vp in one corner: it ſhall appere not only vvonderfull but alſo inpoſſible. VVhat helpe vvas in a ſorte of pore men, compaſſed aboute vvith enemies, mountaynes, and ſeas: to make the vvater contrary to nature to leaue his courſe, and as it vvere vvith a certain choiſe and iudgement to giue paſſage and ſafetie to the ſtreſſed, and cōfuſion and deſtructiō to the proude prince and his company? he forſed the harde rocke to yelde vvater, as a moſte plētiful vvel, at the tycke of a vvande. He ſaued his people by the hande of a vvoman poore Deborah. He aduaunced them and ouerthrevve the enemies by a poore ſhepherde and his ſling. He cut of the head of the proude captayne Olophernes by the hande of a vveake vvoman. It vvas, in reaſon a poore helpe to Sampſons ſtrengthe, a nōber of heares grovving vpon his hed, or an Aſſes iavve bone in his hande, to deſtroye ſo many enemies and bring the people to libertie. The breaking of. 300. earthen pottes, vvas a ſclender pollycie to make ſo many Myriades to flee and one to kille an

Galen de vſu partiū

Gen. 7. 8.

Exod. 14.

Num. 20.
Exod. 17.
Pſalm. 77. 15. 104.

Iud. 5.

Sam. 17.
Iudith. 13.

Iud. 16.

Iud. 15.

Iud. 20.

kille another. And to come to the greateſt of al: it ſemed to the eye of the vvorlde, and the vviſdome of the fleſhe, very vnlyke: that a poore abiect cõdempned for a traytour hanged among theſes vpõ a croſſe moſte vylie, gronyng and morning at the panges of death: ſhould robbe Sathan of his kyngdom, reſtore man to the fauour of God, vvynne the victory of death, and make a conqueſt of hel and ſynne. This cõſidered in it ſelfe and not taught by the ſpirite invvardly: made the Ievves to counte it madnes and the Greekes mere foliſhnes. VVhat ſhoulde I ſaye of the meanes, vvhereby as by conduites this vvater of lyfe, this doctrine of Gods ſonne, vvas caried about the vvhole vvorlde, againſt all reaſon and pollycie, by idiotes to confounde the learned, by ſymplicite all the vviſdome of the vvorlde, by fyſſhers, the fyne Philoſophers, the proude Phariſes, the myghty princes and monarkes of the earth. And to come to our dayes vvhen the lyght of this Goſpell vvas put out, and Antechriſt ruled and reueled in the temple of God (vvhich is mens hartes and cõſciẽce) armed and garded vvith the povver of Emperours, Kynges, Prynces, and Lavves: beyond all mens expectations, contrary to hope, a poore frier, one man, at that time not the beſt learned, through the mighty hande of God according to his vnſearcheable decree vvas able not vvith ſvvoorde and armour, not vvith bandes of men and povver, not vvith fauour of princes and prelates, not vvith any helpe of man, or fauour of the vvorlde: to ſet vp the croſſe of Chriſt, to pull dovvne the chaire of Antechriſte, to reſtore Gods

Math. 24.

1. Cor. 1.

Luther.

Sledanus.

Gods vvorde, to banyſhe the deuels Sophiſtrie, to make of darcknes lyght, of lyes truthe, of playne folyſhnes, trevve vviſdome, and as it vvere an other Helena to finde out the croſſe of Chriſt hidde in the dungeon of deueliſhe doctrine, couered vvith the rotten bones of Romyſhe Martirs, ſynfull Sayntes, and cõterfaited Confeſſores. And as vve began vvith the matter of vvomen ſo to returne thither againe vvith the example of a vvoman. VVas not Quene Anne the mother of this bleſſed vvoman, the chief, firſt, and only cauſe of banyſhing the beaſt of Rome, vvith all his beggerly baggage? vvas there euer in Englande a greater feate vvrought by any mã: then this vvas bv a vvoman? I take not from kyng Henry the due praiſe of broching it, nor from that lambe of God king Edvvard, the finiſhing and perfighting of that vvas begon, though I giue hir, hir due cõmendacion. I knovv that that bleſſid martir of God Thomas Cranmer Byſhop of Cãterbury, did much trauaile in it, and furthered it: but if God had not gyuen Quene Anne fauour in the ſight of the kynge, as he gaue to Heſter in the ſight of Nabucadnezar: Hamã and his company, The Cardinall, VVyncheſter, More, Rocheſt. and other vvold ſone haue triſed vp Mardocheus vvith al the reſt that leaned to that ſide. VVherfore though many deſerued muche praiſe for the helping forvvarde of it: yet the croppe and roote vvas the Quene, vvhiche God had endevved vvith vviſdome that ſhe coulde, and gyuen hir the minde that ſhe vvould do it. Seing then that in al ages God hath vvroughte his moſte vvonderfull vvorkes, by moſte

Ecclehiſt. li. 10. ca. 7.

Quene Anne the inſtrumẽt of reuiuig the goſpel

King Hẽry.

Kyng Edvvard.

The Byſſhop of Canterbury.

God vvorketh oft by contraries.

moſte baſe meanes: and ſhevved his ſtrengthe by vveakenes, his vviſdome by folyſhnes, and his exceding greatnes by mans exceding feblenes: VVhat doubt vve of his povver, vvhen vve lacke pollycie, or miſtruſt his helpe vvhiche hath vvrought ſuche vvounders? VVho is placed aboue him ſaieth Iob: to teach him vvhat he ſhuld do? Or vvho can ſay to him, thou haſt not don iuſtly? He ſendeth a vvomā by birth, vve may not refuſe hir by violence. He ſtabliſſheth hir by lavve, vve may not remoue hir by vvronge. He maketh hir a head, vve may not make hir a hande or foote. **Nunquid contendere cum deo eſt eruditio** (ſaieth Iob) is it vvyſdome to comptrolle Gods doynges, or to breake that he hath made, or to pulle dovvne that he hath ſet vp? If vve vveye our ovvne vviſdome vvhat foliſhnes it is, and conſidre our ovvne pollycie hovve feable it is, vve ſhall ſone leaue this quarell and yelde our ſelues to his vvill. The children of Iſraels pollycie vvas to haue a king, a iolie fellovve to rule them vvith pompe as other nacions had, and not a poore Prophet for that vvas to baſe. I doubte not, they had theſe conſideracions that our polytikes haue. He muſt be a man of courage that the forren enemy may feare him, to maynteine that vve haue, and recouer that vve loſte, to be vvith his ſouldiars abroade, and ſitte vvith his coũſell at home: But vvhat folovved this their godlie pollycie? Marry, **non reiecterunt te ſed me dicit dominus.** They vvould not haue the Prophet apoynted them by God, as theſe men vvill not haue a vvoman ordeyned by nature. Therfore they had a kyng at their

Iob. 36.

Iob. 39.

1 Sam. 8.

ovvne aſking to their owne vndoinge. If an Ape
Man gods ape. ſhould take vpon him to comptrolle a man, he wold not ſuffer it, thoughe it can ſomwhat countrefayte mens doing: No more wyll God be taughte or corrected by man, though he haue a ſhadowe of his ſimilitude. But leſt this author ſhould thinke that I make to longe a flory ſhe before I come to hande ſtrokes with him, as an euil fenced mã, that can make a better bragge of his cũning, then when nede is, vſe it: I mynde before I ſaye any more of this matter, to buckle with him in his argumentes, and to trie what blowes he gyueth. VVherin if I followe not the order that he kepith leafe by leafe, and reaſon by reaſõ, which I auoyde, becauſe he followeth no methode: Yet I truſte ſo to hyt the pithe of it, that all ſuche as be indifferent ſhall thynke him fully aunſwered, and he him ſelfe with the boulting out of the truthe not offendid. For I haue that opinion of the mans honeſtie and godlynes: that he will not diſdayne to heare better reaſons, nor be loth to be taught in any thing
Man may ſone erre. he miſſeth: Knowyng that no mans iudgement is ſo ſounde, no mans wytte ſo ripe, nor no mans learning ſo perfight: but he may ſumtyme miſſe the quiſſyon and fall into errour. For as it is Gods peculyar propertie neuer to erre: ſo it is a botche in mans nature ſeldome to hyt the treuth, as we ſee in all the ſectes
Both philoſophers and diuines erre. of Philoſophers, Stoickes, Academikes, Paripatecians, Epicures, and all other, which lackyng neither wytte, learning, nor diligence, yet came as nere the trouthe as darkenes to light, and errour to truthe.

Yea

Yea not onely they: but many auncient Fathers, (yea I myght saye all) not being vtterly withoute Gods spirite: Yet were not alwayes without their errours as Augustine who humbly confesseth it. Hierom, Ambrose, and Origene, with the rest who can not denye it Hominis est (sayeth Cicero) errare labi, falli & decipi. No man can warraunt hym selfe, but that he shall some tyme swerue, and thinke he seeth when in deede he is blynde. This man therfore I doubte not wyll paciently heare, what may truly be sayd against hym, Specially seinge that this attempte is not so muche to reprouehym, as to proue the matter, and to satisfie tender myndes, whiche by probable reasons are soone wounded, and onles they heare the countrary not so soone healed. I shal in this treatise passe ouer al bie matters as of VVyat, the Duke of Suffolke, the tyranny of suche as then gouerned, the decaye of the Realme, and all suche other appendixes whiche were rather ornamentes to decke then reasons to proue the cause: and will only turne the argumentes out of their cloutes and consider them as they be in them selues, and not as they be set out with colours. For like as a man that would bye an house, wyll not soo muche weye the gaye Payntinge, as the suer buyldynge: So who wyll iudge of any matter truely: must laye it before his eyes nakedly. Cic. in off. A similitude.

1 The argumentes as I remember, bee these, not many in nomber, but handsomlye amplified. Fyrst that what so euer is agaynste nature the same in a The argumentes.

common vvealth is not tollerable, but the gouernment of a vvomā is againſt nature. Ergo it is not tollerable.

2 The ſecond, vvhat ſo euer is forbidden by ſcripture is not lavvfull. But a vvoman to rule is forbidden by ſcripture. Ergo it is not lavvfull.

3 The third, if a vvoman may not ſpeke in the congregation: muche leſſe ſhe may rule. But ſhe may not ſpeake in the cōgregaciō, ergo ſhe may not rule.

4 The fourth, vvhat the ciuil lavve forbiddeth, that is not lavvfull: but the rule of a vvoman the Ciuill lavv forbiddeth, ergo it is not lavvfull.

5 The fift, ſeing therfolovveth more inconueniēce of the rule of vvomē then of mens gouernmēt: therfore it is not to be borne in a common vvelth.

6 The laſt, the Doctors and Canoniſtes forbidde it, ergo it can not be good. Theſe (as I remēber) be the Proppes that hold vp this matter, or rather the pikaxes to vnder mynde the ſtate. This is the cannon ſhot to batter the vvalles of themperial ſeate, and to beate the crovvne of the true heires head. It is a ſore enterpriſe to alter ſo auncīēt an order, and to chaūge lavves of ſuche antiquite, ſpecially at ſuche tyme as the realme is full of trouble, mēs myndes othervviſe diſquieted, and the forren enemies gaping for occaſion to inuade and ouerrenne vs: Zalencus counſell vvas, that vvho ſo euer vvould attempt to perſvvade the people to breake olde lavves and make nevve: ſhould ſtande vvith his necke in the halter, that if he proued it not neceſſarie: he might be knit vp by and by. And if he could proue them: he ſhould be ſett at libertie.

The blaſt vvas blovven out of ſeaſon.

Zalencus lavve.

libertie. And the Garamants in like maner apoynted it death, to alter anye one of those lavves, that vvere made. This they apoynted in their commō vvelths because they cōsidred that the breach of good lavvs, vvas the breakeneck of the countrey. And shall vve thinke it a light matter to alter a state, to plucke the chief magistrate out of her throne, and geue scope to light heades, to descant vpon their dutie, according to their phansie? I vvolde haue vvisshed that it had bene vndone, or novv it is done: that the doer vvold for the quyetinge of vveake myndes acknovvledge his error. But vvhether he dothe or no, I doubt not by that time vvee haue vnfolded hys argumentes, seene throughe his vvhole shoppe, and perused hys vvares, the good subiects shal both think them not saleable, ād be satisfied, and the mouths of busy bodies stopped. And as this is don vpō good cōscience, and not to curry fauor: so I pray God to geue it foisen in the harts of true subiects. VVel, novv to the first argument: You say in your minor that the rule of a vvoman is against nature, because the vvoman is by nature vveake, vnskilful, ād subiect to the mā. &c

The Garamantes.

To the first argument.

VVell, before I answeare to these, vve muste se vvhat is ment by this vvorde nature, hovve farre it stretcheth, hovv it must be taken in this proposition, and then hovv the rule of a vvoman maye agree or not agree vvith it. Nature is nothing els but a general disposition ingrafte of God in all creatures, for the preseruatiō of the vvhol, and of euer ikind, or as Seneca saith. Quid aliud est natura q; deus et diuina ratio toti mundo vniuersisq; eius partibus inserta. Nature is nothing

VVhat is nature.

Sen. de ben. nef.

thing

thinge els but God him ſelfe, or a diuine order ſpred throughout the whole world, and ingrafte in euerye part of it, as in all fire to be hot, all water moiſte, all heauy things to moue downward, al light things vpward. The ſonne and the moone to run their courſe, motu circulari. &c. whiche are ſo ſet orders in the ſubſtance of euery creature: as it muſt nedes follow that natural diſpoſition, onles it pleſeth the creator (who is the Lord of all) to alter thoſe properties which he hath geuen them by nature, as when he made of the mouing water a ſtanding wall, and the fire ſo to loſe his operacion: that it conſumed not the bodies of the three yonge menne that were caſte into it, and ſuche like, all whiche deedes bee wonders and miracles, and not the vvorke, but the impedimente of nature. Now if this hathe ſo beene ingrafted in the nature of al menne, that no woman ſhoulde gouerne, but all women ſhoulde bee ſubiectes: then vvere there no more to be ſaide, the matter were ended. But becauſe we ſee by many examples, that by the wholle conſent of nacyons, by the ordinaunce of God, and order of lawe, wemen haue reigned and thoſe not a fewe, and as it was thoughte not againſte nature: Therefore it canne not bee ſaide, that by a generall diſpoſition of nature, it hathe bene, and is denyed them to rule. But let vs here conſider, whether it be in a woman againſte nature to rule, as it is in a ſtone to moue vpwarde, or in the fire not to conſume. In the ſtone or in the fire is no manner of aptneſſe, either for the one to go vpward, or the other to preſerue and not deſtroy; and neither can be done in eyther,

Ex. 14. Dani. 3.

ther, withoute violence and outwarde force: But in a woman is witte, vnderstãding, and as Aristotle saith the same vertues that be in a man, sauinge that they differ. Secundum maius et minus, that is, moore in the man then in the woman. There is the same shape, the same language, and sometime more giftes in them, then in the man, as was in Artemisia (as Iustine reporteth) more prowes and witte to rule the armie, then in the great Monarke Xerxes. Only we can pul from them that they be not strong of body, or commonly so couragious in minde, graunte that it is so: must they therfore be vtterly vnmete to rule: nay if your saide vnmeter, then men: we woulde not muche wraſtle with you. For as Aristotle saithe the mannes rule is ἀγεμονικώτερα that is more mete to rule. But to reason thus wemen be not so mete as men, Ergo, it is against nature: is an euill consequent. King Edwarde for his yeares and tenderneſſe of age was not so mete to rule, as was his father Kinge Henrye: yet was it not againſte nature, onles you pronounce of him as Storie bothe vnlearnedlye and impudentlye sayde Ve terræ illi cuius puer rex est. Vnhappye is the realme that hathe a childe to their Kinge, as thoughe thys worde child were not there a Metaphor, but take an elder. Cambises was not so mete to rule as his father Cyrus: for he vvas a dronkard ãd cruel. Ergo his rule was vnnaturall. It is a fallax a vitio consequentis. If it wer vnnatural for a womã to rule, becauſe she lacketh a mannes ſtrengthe. Then olde Kinges whyche bee moſt mete to rule for witte and experience, becauſe they lack ſtrength, ſhuld be vnmete for the feblenes of the

3. Polit.

Artemisia Iust. li. 2.

Storie.

of the bodi. Yea say you, God hath apoynted her to be subiect to her husband. Ad virum erit conuersio tua, Gen.3. therfore she maye not be the heade. I graunte that, so farre as perteineth to the bandes of mariage, and the office of a vvife, she muste be a subiecte: but as a Magistrate she maye be her husbands head. For the Scripture saithe not. Thine eye must be to the man, but ad virum tuum to thy husbande. Neither ovveth euerye vvoman obedience to euery man, but to her ovvne husbande. VVel, if she be her husbandes subiecte she can bee no ruler. That follovveth not, for the childe is the fathers subiecte, and the Father the childes ruler, and as Aristotle saithe (vvhome you so muche vrge) his rule is βασιλικὴ that is kynglike ouer his childe. But the husbandes is πολιτικὴ that is ciuill, then if the childe by nature a subiect, maye be by lavve a heade, yea the heade of his father, and his father his subiecte: VVhie may not the vvoman be the husbandes inferiour in matters of vvedlock, and his head in the guiding of the common vvelth. Lyuie reporteth hovve Quintus fabius Max: cominge Liu.li.4.3 dec. from Rome to his Sonne in the vvarre, came riding thoroughe all the Sergeants and officers, vviche for the reuerence they bare to him, boothe for his honoure and age, and that he vvas the consuls father: gaue him roome, tyll at the laste his Sonne the consull bad thofficer staye him, vvhereat the olde man alighted, and doinge his dutie to his sonne, sayde: I ment to try sonne, vvhether you knevv vvhat belõged to the maiesti of your office, vvherbi vve se that the father, vvhich by nature vvas the sonnes hed, is

novv

novv by order of pollycie his ſubiect, and yet is not this rule in the ſonne vnnaturall. But you vvill ſaye there is an aptnes in the ſonne to rule, but the vvoman is ordeined to obey, and cleane exempt frō ſuperioritie. That I denye. For both nature and Gods vvorde giueth hir a kynd of ſuperioritie by expreſſe vvordes, not only ouer beaſts, and al creaturs ioyntly vvith Adam: but alſo ouer men and reaſonable creatures. Saynt Paule ſpeaking of yong vvydovves ſaith let them mary, tende their buſines, and rule the hous οἰκοδεσποτεῖν. No man I am ſure, vvill deny but that the gouernment in the houſe is a kynde of ſuperiorite and that ouer men: Onles you vvyll as the Buoi dyd, that the men ſhall rule the men, and the vviues the vvomen, or you vvill apoynte them ſuch famylies as ſhall haue no men in them. If then they may gouerne men in the houſe by ſaynt Paules commiſſion, and an houſhold is a lytle common vvelth, as Socrates in Xenophon ſaith: Then I can not ſee hovve you can debarre them of all rule, or conclude that to be heads of men is againſt nature. VVhiche if you graunt, is inough for the diſprouing of your minor. If you put to and ſaie in a common vvelthe: yet it vvil not ſerue, for the proſe of that is, by cauſe (ſay you) ſhe is the mans ſubiect. I haue ſhevved hovve, in that ſhe is his vvyfe, not in that ſhe is a vvomā. For as you ſee, ſhe may be ſome mans head as in hir houſhold. But vvhyle you take this vvord nature to largely, you deceiue your ſelf vvyttingly, thinking that becauſe it is not ſo conuenient, ſo profitable, or mete, therfore it is vnnaturall. But that is

Obiect.

Anſvver.

Gen. 2.

1. Tim. 3.

Xenophō in dict. & fact.

Againſt nature diuerſly vnderſtand.

to large a Scope. VVherfore that we maye vnderſtande howe farre you ſtretche this woorde nature. I wyll axe you whether you take it, as it is ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ that is, for the mooſte parte: or all together ἁπλῶς that is vniuerſall. If you take it as it is in the order of nature, for the moſte parte: As it is naturall for an olde man to haue whyte heeres in his age, or for a woman to brynge forthe one childe at a burden: and then reaſon, it is agaynſt nature for an olde man to haue black heres, or a gainſt nature for a vvoman to bringe furth twoo children or three at a burden: no man would allowe your reaſonyng. For though the one be accordynge to nature, as it is for the moſte parte: yet is not the other, that happeneth ſome tyme, vtterly againſte nature. In lyke maner, thoughe it bee for the mooſte parte ſeene, that men and not vvomen doo rule common welthes: Yet when it happeneth ſomme tyme by the ordinaunce of God, and courſe of enheritaunce, that they beare rule: it is not to bee concluded, that it repungneth againſt nature: no more then the old mans black heeres, or the vvomans two twynnes. So that you ſee, that in this acception of nature, their rule can not be againſt nature. On the other ſyde, if you take it in a generalite, as when ſo euer the ſtoone moueth vpvvarde, it is violent, and againſte nature: or vvhen ſo euer the fyer conſumeth not the matter that is put to it: then are you further vvyde. For it chaunſeth not ſeldome but ofte, not in one countrey, but in manye, not emong the barbarous, but in the cheſeſt Empires, and Monarchies,

narchies, and not only in them, but in the common vvealth of the Ievves, more then ones or tvvyse, that vvomen beinge inheritours, haue ruled after their parentes, vvyues after their husbandes: and Systers after their brethrē, as I shal at large declare. But before I come to that poynte, I muste vvade a lytle further vvith hym in his argument of nature. VVherfore, I reason against him thus: vvhat so euer preserueth commō vvealthes, and destroyeth them not: is not againste nature, but the rule of vvomen hath preserued common vvealthes, ergo, it is not against nature. The maior is playne, for it is mooste naturall to preserue and maynteine the societe of men, seing man and cities, vvhiche consiste vpon the companie of menne, be the chiefest vvoorke of God by nature, for all other thynges, bee prepared for that, as the chiefe ende: That menne lyuinge together in a cyuill companye, maye peaceablie, and quietly honour GOD the author, and preseruer of that societie: So that there is no doubte of the maior. For the minor, vvhiche is that the rule of vvomen preserueth common vvealthes, it muste be proued by histories. VVhiche I truste to make so manifest, that not only the matter shalbe out of controuersie: But also that men of indifferent iudgement shall see playnlie, that this man fell chiefly into this errour, either by cause he red not, or conferred not thauncient histories, vvhiche record this matter: I shall therefore not onely oute of the Histories of the people of GOD the Ievves, but also oute

To preserue cōmon vvealths is not against nature.

of the Ethnikes and Christian Stories proue, that in al ages, in many coũtreis, and vnder euery monarck, wemen haue not only ruled, but happely and vvell: yea (whiche is a great matter) emong those that in that sexe bare rule, you shal fynde none or very few, in vvhose reigne their countrey vvas the vvorse for their gouernment, but muche the better. VVhere of the cõtrary, hovv many missortunes, ouerthrovves, chaunges, and transiations of monarchies, haue happened vnder the regiment of men: it is harde to nũber, and impossible to declare. But hereby I meane not either to preferre or matche this sexes gouernement vvith the mãs. (For I coũt it in dede the more conuenient) only my meaning is to shevv that such kynde of regiment, is not so heinous, and intollerable, or in any vvyse euel, as this man maketh it. Deborah shal marche in the first ranke and haue the first place both for thantiquite of the tyme, the authoritie of the story, and the happy succesſe of hir reigne. Deborah (saieth the scripture) iudged the people of Israell, and the people resorteth vnto hir, she delyuered them out of thraldome, and set them at libertie. In this vvomans doinges is playnlie set out that she both gouerned in peace and in vvar, and so did cõsequently al that any ruler by ciuil authorite might, or is vvont to do. She iudged saith the scripture and she sent Barake to the vvarre, vvho beinge of lesse courage or lesse zeale then she vvas, refused to goo onles she vvent vvith him. And vvhen they came to encoũter vvith their enemies, if she had not bene: both Barake, and al his souldiors, lyke vvite lyuered vvarriars

Many coũtreis haue bene vvel gouerned by vvomẽ

Deborah.

Iud. 5.

warriars had geuen backe and marred all. This woman is coũted of some of the Hebrues to be Barakes wife, and yet sent she him to the warre, gaue him his commission and made him the generall, whereby apeareth that to be true, which we saide before: that a woman as a wife must be at commauudement, but a woman as a magistrate may lawfully e commaunde, but this exãple the blast bloweth awai as a peculier example, and extraordynarie, becausewee finde no more the like in the Scripture, but that is no sound reason, it is but once in the Bible: Ergo it is no sufficient example? we rede not in the scripture more then once or twise that a childe reigned, therfore shall it followe that a childes reigne is not by that example stablished? VVe find not in the scipture that the Apostles were baptized, and yet we thinck they wer. VVe rede but once in the scripture, that Peter checked a Magistrate, and yet some there be that dare affirme, and wryte bokes of it, that it is not only lawfull to checke, but to kil an euil Magistrate. But that you may see that wemen reigned in Iudah ofter, thé at one time, though it be not conteigned in the Bible: I shall proue out of Iosephus a Iew born, wryting the Iewish history, that diuers beside this woman, gouerned. Iohannes, ruler of the Iewes. 470. yeares, after the captiuitie of Babilon, at his deathe left his wife Quene and gouernes, who ruled as it apereth rightwel, vntil thambition of her sonne contrary to his fathers order, troubled her gouernmẽt: for at the last as a wicked graft, he conspired against her, and pined her in prison vnto death. Iosep. li. 1. de capt.

Ioseph li. pri. Egesip. lib pri. cap. 12

Not long after, Aristobulus beinge ruler of Iewrye at his deathe, leste his wyse Quene, to gouerne in his place: vnder whose gouernment, the lande was in quyet. And after, she crowned Alexander her husbandes brother, (whome Aristobulus hadde imprisoned) and gaue ouer her title to him. VVhereby it dothe appeare, that she did not onlye gouerne, but hadde also authoritie to place a Kinge. This Alexander, dyinge leste Alexandra his wife, Quene of the Countrey: who vsed suche mercye and modestie towarde her people, that she kept them in peax, and wanne their good wyll, whiche her husbande throughe his crueltie, rigoure, and vnmercifulnesse, hadde vtterlye loste. She is muche commended in the stories, for her good and pollitike gouernment, not onlye in kepinge that was leste her, but also for encreasinge it, vntill the churche menne, the Pharisies, and Priestes abusinge her pitye, and deuoute mynde, gatte authoritie to empryson, murder, and kill whome they listed. Not muche vnlike in thys poynte to the late Quene Mary, who bearinge, and wearing, a womans hart, coulde not (I thincke) haue vsed suche rigoure and extremitie, in imprysoning, banishinge, rackinge, hanginge, dravving, hedding, burninge, flesinge, and fleainge withal manner of extremitie, not sparinge her owne bloude, no not her natural sister: Onles she had bene so bewitched, and endoted by her Cardinall, Bishoppes, and Churchmen, of whome, some be gone before her, to taste of those rewardes whiche she and they by suche extremitie deserued: And those that remaine muste followe.

Alexandra.

Quene Mary.

lovve , onles they vvaſhe avvaye the ſpottes of bloude that hange vppon their Rachets , vvith fluds of teares of repentaunce. Oh they may thanck God, that they haue this time to brethe them, and bethink them of their naughtie, and helliſhe crueltie, and to call daily, and hovverly, for pardon, and forgeuenes, for let them thincke that if they be not punyſhed in this life: nor repent : God accompteth their dedes ſo vile, and the faultes ſo heynous : that no temporall paines be inough, for ſuche offences, and therfore reſerueth them to eternall damnaciō . Oh hovvld and vvail you prieſts and prelats, not for the daūger you ſtād in, of loſing your biſhopriks ād benefices , your pōp and your pride: your dignities ād honors, your riches and vvelth: but for that hel hathe opened hys mouth vvide, and gapeth to ſvvallovve you, for the ſhedding of ſo much innocēt blud, for the murdring of ſo many martirs, and ſpoiling Chriſtes church, of ſo many gliſtering, and glorious ornamēts, cōmended of al men for learning, and diſcōmended of none for their liuinge . But to returne to my ſtorye , this Quene Alexādra vvas ſo inuegled of the church mē: that (as Ioſephus ſaith) ſhe ruled other, and the Phariſies her. It is an eaſy matter for them that be of deuout mindes, and godly diſpoſitiōs , to be broughte into error by thoſe, vvhom they think to be godly. And therfor that cōmō vvelth is hapy (ſaith Plato) vvhoſe gouerner is a philoſopher, or a Philoſopher their gouerner, vvhē princes be lerned thē ſelfes: thei ſhal not hang alone vpō the mouths of the prelates, but iudge thē ſelfes hovv true it is they teache, that they

The Prelates haue time of repentance.

Note you Prelates.

The Quene deceiued by her churche men.

Learnyng in prynces.

they may saye with the Samaritanes: woman, we do not beleue it, because thou sayest it, but because we haue sene our selues. VVhat shoulde we saye of the Quene of Saba, whome Christ with his own mouth commendeth for her desire to heare Salomons wisdom, and calleth her by the name of Quene. If she had vnlawfully, and against nature vsurped that authoritie: surely he would as well haue founde faulte with her vnlawful rule, as he commended her diligēt trauail. But Christ knowing the boundes of hys office, wold not meddle with externe pollycies, trāslating of realms, ād depriuing of true inheritors: No, when he was desired to be arbiter betwixte two brethern he axed not how the pleastode, but who made him an officer. Diuines (me thinke) shoulde by this example not geue them selues to much the bridle, and to large a Scope, to meddle to farre with matters of pollicie, as this is, wherupon depēdeth either the welfare or ilfare of the whole realm. If those. ii. offices, I meane Ecclesiastical and Ciuil, be so iumbled together, as it may be lawful for both parties to meddle in both functions: there can be no quiet, nor any wel ordered common welth. But because this argument requireth a long treatise, I leaue it and go forwarde with my matter. I passe ouer here the sister of Antigonus and Salome, the sister of Herode, of the which one was Quene of Hircania, and tho other appoynted by Augustus Cesar to rule ouer Iammam, Azotum, Phasalidem, and Astaloniam, and the same regiments she after left to Iulia Tiberius motherād Augustus wife. These are euidente argumentes that while

Ioh. 4.

1. Reg. 10. Luc. 11.

Luc. 12.

Spirituall mē shuld not medle vvith pollicies.

The sister of Antigonus. Salome.

Ioseph. 1. li. ca 13.

whyle the Romaynes, at that tyme the Monarkes of the worlde, did ſo beſtowe kyngdomes vpon womē: they thought it not to be againſt nature, for that ſexe to gouerne. Many other exāples of ſuch regimentes there be in the hiſtories of the Iewes, which I might alledge for this matter, if I thought not theſe ſufficient, but that it may appeare, that not only it was in vſe, and practiſe in that nacion, to bee ruled by that ſexe, but alſo emong the gentiles, which were rather ledde by the lawe of nature, then hedged in with gods pollycie: I will ſhortly runne ouer, ſome of their prophane hiſtories. Beroſus, a Babilonian borne, and for the truthe of his ſtorie preferred before all the Grekes, and worthely (for he followed no fables, as they commonly dyd, but the recordes of the Caldies) ſaith, that Noah whiche was called Ianus (for iain ſignifieth wyne, whiche he inuented) made his daughter Cranā quene and gouernes of Italy, which thing being true (as it is moſte lyke) howe dare men ſaye that their regiment is againſt nature. VVhiche that worthy father, whome God thought amyddes his vnſpeakeable wrath, againſt the whole world, not only to ſaue and preſerue, but alſo to make hym the author of the newe worlde: did not only ſuffer, as a thinge tollerable, but apoynted as an order moſt honeſt. If we cōdempne his dede: we muſt alſo condēpne Gods choiſe, who could not fynde, or pick oute a worthier or wyſer man, to be the reſtorer of mākind, then hym: that ſhould ſo ſhamefully erre, as they ſaye againſt nature. In the monarche of the Babilonians, were very notable Semiramis, and Nicocris, bothe

Lib. 5.

Crana Noahs doughter.

Hero. li. 1.

both for their vviſdome and ſelicite in gouerning, & alſo for the notable monuments they left behind thē.

Semiramis. Semiramis, after the death of hir huſbād Ninus, fearing leaſt the late conqueſtes and countreis vvoulde not be kept in avve by hir ſonne, yet yōg of yeares, vnſkilfull in gouernmēt, and not of courage inough to play the king: in the perſone of her ſonne, for the tyme of his nonage ruled ſo (as Beroſus ſaith of hir) that ſhe paſſe in feates of vvarre, in triumphes, conqueſtes, and vvelthe, all that vvere then lyuinge, or before hir. She buylded Babilō, ſhe cōquered Ethiopia, ſhe inuaded India, vvhether neuer king nor Emperour came, but Alexander the great. Thother Nicocris (as Herod. reporteth) vviſer then the former, defēdid hir empire agaīſt the Medes, who thē ſought the monarchie of the vvorlde. She vvrought ſuche a vvonder in the great flud Euphrates, as al men, then vvere amaſed at it, and yet, thinke it almoſte incredible, for ſhe made it cōtrary to all mens expectaciō, to leave thold courſe, and to folow hir deuiſe to, & fro, to ſerue the citie moſt cōmodiouſly. So that ſhe did not only paſſe all mē in wyt: but ouercāe the elemēts with povver. VVhē ſhe died, ſhe cauſed to be ingraued in hir ſepulchre theſe vvordes. If any king of Babilon ſtande in nede of treaſure, let him ſearche my tombe. But not onles he be in nede. This ſepulchre was neuer touched, til Darius wan Babilō, vvho digging vp hir graue, foūd nothing but a vvriting to th[effect. If thou weert not an vnſaciable rauenour, thou vvouldeſt not ſcrape for riches emōg dead mens bones. I thinke that ſome fault vvilbe found in theſe, &

Iuſt. lib. 1.

Hero. li. 1.

Nicocris byl in hir tombe.

ſpecially

ſpecially in Simiramis, bycauſe ſhe attyred hir ſelfe lyke hir ſonne: and that ſhalbe thought a ſufficiēt refutaciō. For it is the maner of the world to blot out many good and honeſt dedes, with obiecting of one euil. But that can not hurt my matter, nor helpe his. For ſo that I wyn at his hand that theſe womē reigned, and kept their coūtreis in as good order, or better then any men did: it is a great likelihod, that this ſexe is not ſo vnapt to rule, as he maketh thē. Amōg the Maſagits reigned Thomiriſ, a womā of ſuch fame for hir wiſdom, and power: that Cirº that noble Perſian and firſt monarche after the Medes, ſēt to hir for mariage, to whome ſhe made anſwer, that ſhe knew his meaning was to mary hir kingdome, and not hir: which anſwer, if Quene Mary had gyuen to Philip: Calles, Hams, and Guiſnes, had not bene loſt, nor thſ good lady hir ſiſter, and our ſouereigne, ſo lefte in the breers, beſett about on euery ſyde almoſte, with mightie enemies, empouerysſhed, and robbed of hir common treaſure, and hir ſubiectes ſo fleſed, that they muſt ſcrape nere the boones that vvill get any more. This Thomiris vvith this anſvvere kyndled Cirus vvrath ſo muche: that (no remedy) he muſte vppon hir and haue hir by force, vvhome he could not gett by fayre meanes. And hadde at the firſt ſo good lucke againſt hir: that he kylled hir ſonne, and the moſte parte of his armie. But this noble Quene, let it not long go vnreuēged, for cōming to the field hir ſelf, and pitching a battell againſt him: ouercame hym that hadde before ouercome all other, cutte of his head and thruſt it into a veſſelful of bloud ſaying:

Thomiris Hero. li. 1.

Thomiris aunſvver.

Kinges cā not beare repulſes.

drinke thy fill, vvhiche haſt euer ſo thirſted bloud. In this ſtory, by the vvay is to be noted, that if kings be vvovvers and no ſpeders: there can be ſmall hope that they vvill be faithfull friendes after. For greate men, can not beare great repulſes, ſpecially vvhen their povver is ſuch as they can vvhen they vvill reuenge it. And a mynde, or harte, vvhere loue hath dvvelt, if it begynne ones to hate: is lyke a ſponge vvhiche ſucketh vp as muche vvater of malice, as it had before hony. Mother vnto this greate monarke Cirus vvas Mandane, doughter vnto Aſtiages king of Media: who hauing no more children but hir, becauſe he drempt that out of his doughters vvombe, ſprong a tree vvhich ſhadovved all Aſia; thought by deſtroing hir child begotten of Cambiſes a Perſian, he ſhould auoide the deſtenie. And therfore aſſone as the child vvas borne, deliuered it, to one Harpagus a truſty mā of his, to be made avvay, and deſtroyed. But Harpagus, forcaſting lyke a vvyſe polytike ſelovve, that if he killed the childe: the mother enheriting after hir father, vvould be on his bones for it, and call him to accompte: founde the meanes that it vvas ſaued. This mans forſight, vvas not muche vnlyke the pollycie of ſome by ſſhops in Englande, in the late quenes dayes, vvho being more vvyſe, and leſſe furious then the reſt: though they ſerued at an ynche in their calling, in ambaſſages, to fetche in the holy father, to miniſter vngracious counſell, and do all that vvas commaunded: yet vvould they not appeare, to be any of the broylers of the milde martirs, or the common hang men, as the reſt vvare, leaſt the

Mādane.

Hero. li. 1.

Iuſt. lib. 1.

Harpagi in Englād

daye

day might come, that Mandane, might axe accompt of these Harpagi, for her children and seruantes, but the rest as desperate dicks, went forward in their busines, spared none, dred no pearill, looked no further then their fote, but with tothe and naile cried downe with the side, hang some, racke some, beheade some, banish some, broile some, fetch them vp with numbers of harnessed men, into the Tower wyth them, spare neither kithe, nor kin, sister nor other, it made no matter, so they might shew them selfes obedient subiects to the Quene, and disobedient traytors vnto God, and the realme. These were Harpagi in dede and furi, but not in wit and forsight. Now to mi purpose, if it hadde not bene an order in Media that the daughter shuld succede the father: yea in the whole Monarchie of Asia: what needed Harpagus to haue mistrusted Mandanes reuenge. So that it is more thē euident, that women might not only enherite after their fathers, in prouinces, and small kingdoms: but in great Monarchies, and Empires, which shuld not haue bene so permitted in all places: if it had bene so much againſt godes forbid. If I shuld here tarye in the setting oute of Artemisias noble courage, excellent wisdom, and felicitie in Gouernment, of whom Herod maketh mencion: I should easely finde, how to begin: but hardly, how to end, wherfore I say onli of her, as Herod. Iust. and all other writers do: that she was more mete to haue gouerned that heuge army of Xerxes, which for the greatnes dranke dry all the riuers it came to, then he him self was. For when he inuaded Grecia, and by the subtiltie of Themisto

Desperate dickes, good Bishops in England.

Harpagi signifyeth raueners.

Artemisia

Hero. li. 8

Iust. li. 2.

cles was discomfited at Salamine, and like a coward was glad to take his feete: She not only e encouraged her souldiours, so as they passed al other in the conflict: but also gaue the king such counsel, as if he had followed it: all Gretia had smarted for it: and he vndoubtedly haue bene the conqueroure. But he like a braynsick beast, thinking as many do, that it had ben a shame, to be well counseled or ruled by a woman: had rather follow his owne fansy, to his vtter vndoing: then her wisdom to saue his country and army. And therfor he went home not like a king, but like a cockescome, not like a conqueror, but like a coward, not like a man, but like a mouse, in a fishers boote, with one or two with him: whiche broughte oute so many as it is almoste at these daies incredible. If he could haue bene as wise, as God mighte haue made him: or as the counsel of Bethulia at the comming in of Olophernes were: he had bene the greateste that euer was vpon the earth. These Bethulians when thei were besieged of Olophernes: wer contēt all the hole Senate to come to Iudithes house, a meane widowe, but a wise, and godly woman, and to heare her, folow her coūsel, ād obey her. For whē they wer al at their wits end, ready to geue ouer the city like milk sops, and venture religion, wife, and children, goodes and liues, in thenemies hāds: She indued with gods spirit and heauēly wisdō, found the way through wit, prai er, ād the help of God, not only to deliuer thē: but to reuenge thē, not only to saue their pols, but to cut of thenemies. wher was thē this saying, which is so muche vrged: a woman may not open her lips in the cō-

In coūseli looke not to the per son, but to the reasō.

Iudith. cap. 8.

gregaci-

gregaciō? A womā may be no iudge? ſhe opened her mouth, and vttered her wiſdō, when they al wer grauelled, and not only that, but toke the ſworde in her tender hand, and did executiō like a magiſtrate vpō gods enemi. But of that place of Paul I ſhal ſpeak of at a nother time at large, I may not tary in the opening of al the prophane hiſtories, which ſerue to this purpoſe, leaſt I ſhuld ſeme to write an hiſtory, and not a cōfutaciō. vvherfor the reader being inſtructed with theſe ſhal not nede but only to be put in minde of the reſt that remain. Iſis (after the death of her huſbād Oſiris) reigned ouer al Egipt with ſo much prouiſiō for the welth of the realm: that ſhe was after her death cōpted of thē a goddeſſe. For as Tullie ſaith, the foliſh antiquitie, honored mē as gods after their deathes, which either exceded in power, or wer great by birth, or had done ſome notable pleaſure to their country. Lauinia after the death of Aeneas reigned in Latio: Dido in Carthage: Olīpias (Pirrhꝰ daughter) in Epire: Aramea, in Scithia, Cleopatra, in Egipt in the time of Auguſtꝰ: and a Quene in Illiria, who durſt venture to withſtand the Romains, when they wer greateſt. Olimpias (after the death of great Alexander) in Macedonia: ād infinit more, which thei that be expert in hiſtories, know. It is a wōder, that men vnſkilled in the diuerſities of times, ād hiſtoris, dare thus ventre in ſo great matters: which, becauſe they be ſomwhat obſcure in the Bible, therfor they think can no where els be found. Not much vnlyke the cōmon ſort of Germains, which trauailinge no further then they may ſe the ſmoke of the ſtouf: think that in theyr

Iſis. Beroſ. li. 5

Cic. de na. deorum.

Liui. li. 1. det 1. Beroſ. li. 5, polyb. Iuſt. li. 14.

in their country is the paradiſe of the world, and that in it is al things and in all other nothing, and like to a certen. Sir Ihō which ſaid, by my prieſthode if the Trinitie were not in my portaſe, I wold not beleue it. I make not this compariſon, as though I thought not the Bible to be a paradiſe. wherin are to be foūd all the beſt hearbes and frutes that be: but meaninge that all antiquitie of time, all hiſtories and monumentes, canne not be conteined in ſo lyttle rometh. VVherfore, if men wil decide weightie matters, hāging vppon antiquitie: they muſt not only counſell with the Bible, but excerciſe them ſelfe in aunciente ſtories. And therefore, Philippe Melanthon (one of the Princes of learning, at this day) trauaileth more in theſe his laſt yeares, in the reading, gathering, and ſetting furth of hiſtories: then of any other kinde of learninge, and not without reaſon. For hiſtories (ſaith Tullie) be the witnes of times, the candle of truthe, the life of memory, the Ladye of life, and the regeſtre of antiquitie. VVherfor, let no man diſdain hiſtories, or find fault with vs, though we trauaile in hiſtories about this cōtrouerſy, for nothinge better openeth it, nothing more cōfirmeth it, nor nothing ſoner bringeth out of doubte, that is nowe broughte into queſtion. Nowe thou ſeeſt (good Reader) howe this matter ſtode among the Iewes, and gentils, how neither of them debarred the heires female, of their right, and title of enheritance, when ſo euer it fell to their lot to ſuccede their parēts, as though it had ben vnlawful, vngodly, ād vnnatural for that ſexe to gouern. There remaineth, that we run ouer a fewe recordes

The knowledge of hiſtories is a greate peece of learninge.

Cic. de oꝛat. li. 2.

cordes in like maner among the christians: least the contrary side might haue their refuge and startinge hole there. VVherfore, disdayne not to heare a fewe more, and so wil I end with this argumēt. Theodora (otherwise called Helena) reigned after the death of Leo Themperour, in Constantinople ouer all Asia, as lady and Empresse, and sauing that she was superstitious, and wilfull (thorough the lewde persuasions of hir clatteringe Clargie, in the defence of Images) there was no great faulte to be founde in hir gouernment. In this poynt in dede she was more then mad. For she digged vp the bones of Constantinus hir father in lawe and burned them for an heretike. As the late quene did doctor Busars and others. I can not tel whether she did it with the lyke solēpnite, or more spite, then this was done in Englande. But it is lyke that she had hir byshops, and ioly Clargie to set it forwarde. I rede not that there was any Cardinall of counsel in it, as was of late (by report) in the deuising to burne king Henry theights bones. If the spiritual spiders ment it without cōmission: it was to shamefull: if they had cōmission suerly it was to vnnatural. But Prince and Prelates deale it betwixt them: But for the matter she gouerned by the consent bothe of the spiritualtie, and tēporaltie, and as it was thought lawfully, vvhiche is inough for my purpose. For if it vvere thought lawful for a vvomā to be an empresse, to vvhome belonged the managinge of the greatest parte of the vvorlde: It can not be then vnlawfull for a vvomā to rule one litle realme: and as for hir faults vvhat so euer they vvere, that can not vvype avvaye

Regist. annali. mag.

Bullingde orig. erro.

Quintus Curtius. Herod. Sabell.

hir right: no more then the crueltie in Nero, and Domitian, drunkennes in Alexander; and Cambiſes, & other faultes in other rulers, made them vnlavvfull gouernours. Elias ſaide to Achab, it is thou, and thy fathers hous, that troubleth al Iſraell; but he inferred not therfore that he was an vnlawful kyng. Saul was

1. Reg. 8.

1. Sam.

reiected of God for his wickednes: and yet Dauid ſo long as he lyued called him the lordes anoynted.

Luc. 13. Math. 23. Marc. 12. Luc. 11.

Chriſt called Herode foxe, and the Scribes and phariſies ypocrites: yet did he not impugne their authorite, or deface their title. VVherfore, though there be ſome faultes to be found in this Theodora, and other: yet proueth it not that thei may not reigne, for it is a fallax ab accidente to ſay, ſhe was naught: ergo, ſhe might not rule: for that hangeth not vppon the rule, that ſhe was naught, but vpō the perſone. As if you ſhould ſaye, my L. lubber of London is a tyraunt: ergo he is no byſſhop. I warrañt you, though he graunted you the antecedent whiche he can hardly denie: yet he would denye the conſequent, or els he would call for wylie VVatſon to helpe him: In Fraũce, tyl of late yeares womẽ enherited the crown as in Englande, and Scotlande, vntill that they ment by the lawe ſalique, rather to defeate vs of our title, then to condempne the ſucceſſiō as vnlaufull, as you may now ſee by the Frenche king. He neither thynketh it vnlaufull or vnnaturall to be lorde of your cōtrie by that womans tytle. I wouldeyou coulde perſwade either him or your coũtrey men, to thinke that the quenes title by cauſe ſhe is a womā is vnlaufull, and ſo do your own countrey good firſt, and let vs alone

A fallax is a deceitful argument in Logike

vs alone with ours. And as you ſpeede there, you might pchaunce encourage vs to follow when it may be done laufully. Tully ſaith, ne ſis curioſ⁹ in aliena rep. Li. 1. off. The voyce of a ſtraunger, is to be hard in the pulpit ſo long as he ſpeaketh Gods worde: But a ſtraungers voyce is not alowed in foro, in the parliament about pollycie, by cauſe he is not a citezen. This I ſaye not to philip you, as though you ment euill to vs (for I am perſwaded that you loue England aſwell as your own cõtrey) but I meane to moniſh you, that being a ſtraũger you diſturbe not our ſtate: leſt you giue occaſion to them that know you not, of ſuſpicion. It is a great enterpriſe (and as they ſay no balle playe) to pulle a quenes crowne of hir head: and ſpecially ſuch a ones, as many ages haue not ſene, nor many countreis enioyed, or many hiſtories recorded the lyke. I would not be wounded in cõſcience, with any attẽpte againſt hir: if I might be lord of al, that Philippe, & the french king haue. VVel, I muſt leaue hir for this tyme, leſt the remẽbraunce of hir vertues make me to forget my matter. And that we may make an ende of our recompt of hiſtories, we wil go forward: Henry Duke of Sueuia, ſonne of Frederic⁹ the firſt, called Barbaroſſa, maried the heire of Scicilia, and ſo becãe king therof & empẽrour of Rome. Cõrad⁹ Palatin⁹, left behinde him one only doughter Agnes, whiche was Palatineſſe, and after being maried to Henry the duke of Saxõ, made hĩ Palſgraue: who in like maner died and left a doughter called Gertrude palatineſſe, whõ Otto duke of Bauaria maried & becãe palſgraue & the ſame order of diſcẽt & ſucceſſiõ remaineth yet

Munſte. Duke of Svveuia. Cõr. Pala.

the moſte part of Thempire. Here I myght nũber a gret ſort in Spain, who ſucceded & ruled in the realm But I ſhalbe cõtent with ſuch as be of late memory, as Ioãna the mother of Charles the fift, who reigned and gouerned the countrey not ill, as the Stories report. Mary (the doughter of Charles called Bellator) the warrier and wife to Maximilian, ſucceded hir father in the Duckdom of Burgundy, and the coũtie of Flaunders. I let pas Mary, Charles ſiſter who ruled in Flaũders in our tyme, And Fraunces the frẽch kinges mother, who during the terme of her ſonnes captiuitie in Spayne after he had daunſed his pauino at Pauia, ruled the whole dominiõ: wherby the frẽch though they will haue no heires females: yet ſhewe that they condempne not the regiment of women. Other there haue bene, and that not a fewe, whiche haue gouerned and enherited in diuers countreis of Chriſtendome, with muche commendacion. As Amalaſinta the mother of Athalaricus, when ſhe ſawe that the Frenche men, cõtrary to all right would depriue hir ſonne of Prouince, whiche was his enheritaunce: deliuered it vp to Theodoberto, king of the Mediomatrices, which kept it to thuſe of hir ſonne, Thus was the mother conſtreyned by the purpoſed wrong of the ſubiects, to ſeke remedy for hir ſonnes right, and was a better gouernes to him then he to him ſelfe. Leonora doughter to the king of Aquitania, was maryed to Henry Duke of Gaunte, and in ſpite of the Frenche kyngs teethe, brought hir huſbande Aquitanie and Poiteaux. Adela mother to the king of Fraũce, was made Regent of the countrey in thabſence

Ioãna the mother of Charles.

Marie.

Tillius.

Tillius in Chronog. Amalaſinta.

An. 1552. Tillius.

thabſence of her ſonne, while he was in the warre againſt the Sarazens, and gouerned wel. This hir ſõne (for his goodneſſe and wiſdome) was called Philippus a deo datus ſente of God, and yet thoughte it not amiſſe, to put his mother a wiſe woman in truſt with the whole realme. And according to his expectaciõ, he toke no hurt nor los by it. In like maner Blanch mother vnto Ludouic⁹ for his vertue named Diuus holie, was twiſe made regẽt of Fraunce, while he was away in the ſame warre. And after his death, ſhe had the gouerning of her ſonne and the realm. It is like that if her gouernment had not ben good at the firſt: the nobles and people wold haue bene lothe to haue had her again the ſecond time. Not lõge after that time, gouerned a woman in Flaunders, named counteſſe Margarite. An. domini. 1247. Tillius. 1227.

Ioanna the neſe of Diuus Ludouicus was Quene of Nauarre, and marrying with Philip named Pulcher: made him king of Nauarre, by which meanes, that countrey came to be vnder the Frenche Kinge. And anno. 1415. was a woman gouerneſſe and Quene of Naples, called Ioanna. Not only in Fraunce, Italy, Spaine, and Germany: but alſo in thempire haue women ruled, whiche is more ſtraunge, becauſe the Emperour is choſen by election, and commeth not to it by enheritance. As anno. 1301. after the death of Henrye the thirde. Hagne his wife for the honor named Auguſta, gouerned both her ſõne in his nonage and thempire, keping it in good order, vntil the byſhop of Colen (as thoſe men wilbe buſy in pollicies) by certen conſpiracies, pulled the yonge Emperoure Tillius. 1245. Paul. Emili. Valer. Anſel. Biſhops buſye bodies in policies.

Henry the.4.from her, after what time grewe much trouble in Thempyre. Hereby we ſee, that in no cõmon wealth, thei thought it a monſtrous Reigne, or againſt nature, for a woman to gouern: which error bringing our auncetors in the reign of Sthephẽ to be wicked periures cauſed thẽ ro conſpire with the ſaid vſurper to kepe Mathilda the daughter of Henry the firſt frõ the title, right, and crown of this realm, but God not ſuffring ſuch an extreme wronge, ſo toſſed him in warres, both extern and ciuil, to the vtter vndoing of the realm: that they wer glad to grow to agrement, and ſuffer her ſon to haue his right, and the vſurper had not only neuer a good day, ſo lõg as he reigned: but alſo by the iuſt iudgement of God, firſt was impriſoned, and next loſt his ſõne Euſtachi⁹, in whõ was all his glory, thinking, he ſhuld haue reigned after him: what ſhuld we ſay? God hath not onli ſhewed his diſpleſure and wrath, againſt ſuch as haue ſought, vnder this pretence to defeat true heirs: but alſo hath in this our realme, raiſed vp greate houſes by their menes, as the houſe of York by Philippa ãd Anna, which by mariage, brought the title into the houſe of the Mortymares. And King Henry the.7. and all that line, colde not claim but by the woman, which was daughter to Henry the.6, and mother to Richard Duke of Richmond. Charles the.8. refuſed Maximilians daughter, to whõ he was betrothed, ãd maried the heir of Britain called Anna, deſpouſed to Maximilian, but ſeduced by certen noble womẽ, bribed of the french King, ãd by that mariage, became Lord of the coũtry, againſt the wils of al the nobles.

Poly. A. li. 19.

Poly.

For

For they thought it better to marrye one, whiche might be their ſeueral Lord, then to ioign Britaine with ſuch a realm, as ſhuld drown the name of it, and bring them (as they be) to ſlauery: Amias was defended by a womā, againſt tharmy of Maximiliā, it had ben els loſt, as al the french men confeſſed, her name was Catherina licia. A maid defēded Orliance, in armor, againſt the duke of Burgundie and the Engliſh army, and after with the ſame her army led the yōg king Charls the. 7. to Rome, ād ther crowned him. Before this maids time, the Engliſh euer proſpered, and the french wer euē at the laſt caſt, geuing vp the goſte, but ſhe brought them into that condiciō, that afterwarde, they grewe: and we appaired. Helena the Quene of the Adiabenits, ruled ſo wiſely and godlie that after her deth, the Iewes erected a monumēt for her remembrance at the gates of Ieruſalem: She miniſtred to the nede of the pore liberally, in the greate dearth that than was in Iury. Thus thou ſeeſt (good Reader) that if this man take nature ſo generallye, as it may ſtretche to all conntries, all tymes and al cōmon welthes, and then ſaye, it is againſt nature for a woman to rule: That is againſte the generall conſente and order, engraſte by nature, in al peoples and mennes mindes: that then it is mooſte vntrue. For I haue proued, that neither the Iewes, nor the Gētils, nor yet the chriſtiās, had that κοινὴν ἔννοιαν that cōmō opiniō plāted bi nature in their harts that it ſtode not with good order of nature that one of that ſex ſhuld rule. But ſhortly I reaſō thus with him, whatſoeuer is natural, the ſame is vniuerſal. But that womē ſhuld not

Arnoldus

A vvomā noble and happye in vvarres.

The firſte healpe of the french a vvoman

Euſeb. li. 2. cap. 10.

not rule is not vniuerſall, Ergo, it is not naturall. If to rule in women be vnnaturall: then not to rule, is naturall. But not to rule is not vniuerſall. Ergo it is not natural. That it is not vniuerſal we haue proued by a great number of hiſtories which teſtify that women in al ages, and all countries, haue gouerned. Again what ſo euer is naturall hath in the mind of mã κοινὰς ἐννοίας as, that there is a God, all menne haue it in their mindes ingrafted by nature, that al ſocieties muſt be ruled and ordered by magiſtrates and lawes: that murder is wicked and againſt nature. &c. which be common opinions in the table of mannes minde, written by the finger of God, with the pen of nature: but of this (that only men muſt rule and not women when it pleaſeth God) there is no ſuch principle vniuerſal in mens mindes. For you ſee that a number of countries, decree the contrary, wherefore it can not be ſaid, that it fighteth with nature: But you will reply vpon me thus peraduenture: Nature hathe made her a ſubiect, Ergo, ſhe can not rule. I deny your argument, for nature hath made the childe and the ſeruãt ſubiects. And yet they may rule as Fabius ſõne: and the Kinges ſeruaunt may be my maſter, wherefor you muſt vnderſtand the argument thus, that if nature haue made her a ſubiect: in that ſtate ſhe is a ſubiect, and in reſpect of them to whome ſhe is ſubiect: ſhe can not be their ruler. As a thilde in the dutie of a childe towarde his father, is his fathers ſubiect And a ſeruaunt in reſpecte of his maſter and the duty of a ſeruaunt, can not be his maſters heade. But in reſpect of Ciuil pollicie, the ſonne bearing office,

maye

may be in that functiō his fathers head, and the kings seruaunt an other mans maister, as Ioseph was in the house of Putiphar. So the woman being eyther as a childe to hir father, or a seruaunt to hir maister, or a wyfe to her husband, respecting these persones: can not be head ouer them in those offices: that is in the office of a father, a maister, or a husband. But in the office of a ruler and a magistrate she may be this mās wyfe, that is his subiect, and his head, that is his magistrate. So that this argument by destinction is nothing, for it is a Fallax, called ignoratio elenchi, as resolue it, and you shal see the faulte. VVho so euer is one mans subiect, can not be another mans ruler, or the same mans ruler in an other respect. But a wyfe is hir husbandes subiect: ergo she can bee none other māshead, nor his in an other respect. This is false, for the contradictorie is true: That a wyfe may be this mans wyfe, and that mans maistres, and this mans subiect in the dutie of matrimony, and the same mās head in thauthorite of office. Thus we se that al reasons well set out, are lyke a wel kempt busshe wher neuer a here lyeth amysse, so longe as he hath a hous to couer him. But when he cummeth into the wynde it is sone ruffled. Or lyke a paynted madams face, whiche so longe as no mā bloweth vpon it nor sweat ryseth in it: is gay glistring, but any of these meanes make the wrinkles sone to appere. So a false argumēt decked with fayre wordes, semeth good: but turne it naked and you shall sone see the botches. Gen. 39.

The seconde Argument is this that the scripture forbiddeth that a woman should rule, and therfore it The secōd Argumēt.

is not tollerable, the prouſes be out of tholde teſta-
Gen. 3. ment. Firſt that after the falle of Adam through the
Eſai. 3. womans inticement it was enioyned hir, and hir po-
ſterite as a penaūce, to be at the beck and cōmaunde-
mēt of the mā. 2 That Eſai pronouceth as a curſe that
the rulers for the peoples vnrulines ſhal be children
1. Cor. 14. and women. 3. that S. Paule forbiddeth thē to ſpeake
1. Tim. 2. in the congregaciō. Before that I anſwer particulerly
I muſt saye this to them all in general, that the ſcrip-
ture medleth with no ciuill pollicie further then to
teach obediēce. And therfor what ſo euer is brought
out of the ſcripture cōcerning any kynd of regimēt,
is without the booke, pulled into the game place by
the eares to wraſtle whether it will or no. For Chriſt
Luc. 12. faith: Quis me conſtituit inter vos iudicem. VVho hath
made me be betwixt you a iudge, as though he ſhuld
saye, myne office is not to determyne matters of pol
licie, of ſucceſſion, and enheritaunce, for that belon-
geth to the ciuill magiſtrates. If he had thought that
it had bene within the compaſſe of his function: why
and with what conſcience refuſed he to ſet thē at one,
whiche were at ſtryfe, and to put that out of doubte
which was in ſute. If he ought to do it, and wold not:
he lacked charite, and did not his dutie: if it belōged
not to him, how belonged it to any of his Apoſtles,
diſciples, or ſucceſſors? Had not he as large cōmiſſiō
as he gaue? or could he gyue that he had not? But he
knowing his office, as the prophet Eſaie had forſpo-
ken of him to be, to preache the Goſpel, to heale the
broken. &c. would do nothing without warraunt, &
therfore being axed if he were a kyng: he aunſwered
ſimply

ſimply by a playne negatiue. Regnum meum. &c. my kingdom is not of this world. If his kingdom were not here: neither the ordring of pollicies was his, for remouing from his functiō the whole: he muſt nedes remoue the part, pollicie is a part of a worldly kingdome, yea when they woulde haue taken him vp to make him a kyng, as one that refuſed that belonged not to him, he conueyed himſelfe from among thē. If tēperal iuriſdictiō belōged to him: why refuſed he his calling? If it did not, where had Paul, Peter, or any other, any authorite to medle with that he refuſed? Seing he ſaid. Sicut miſit me viuēs pater, ita et ego mit to vos. He gaue them no more ſcope then he had himſelfe: wherfore it is not like that Paul, or any other, would vſurpe a further authorite, then he had receiued of his father, or they of him, and therfore Paul, ſheweth howe farre he wilbe folowed: Saying. Imitatores mei eſtote ſicut ego Chriſti: Followe me, and herken to me in thoſe thynges that I followe, and herken to my maiſter in, he teacheth in effect, this part of pollicie whiche he hadde learned of his Lorde. Date Cæſari quæ ſunt Cæſaris, obey the magiſtrates and thoſe that be in authorite, not only for feare, but for conſcience, he lymiteth no magiſtrates, he altereth no polycie, he medleth neither with Democraties, Ariſtocraties, nor monarchies, nor pſcribeth whether old or yong, riche or poore, lerned or vnlerned, mā or womā, ſhuld reigne. But as he findeth thē, ſo he leueth thē, empaireth none, altereth none, diſturbeth none: knowing as Chriſt ſayd. Principes gentiū domina būtur eis, vos aūt nō ſic. It falleth not into a diſciples, an apoſtles, or

Math. 27. Marc. 15. Ioh. 18. Ioh. 16. Ioh. 20. Mar. 12. Math. 22. Rom. 13. Math. 20. Luc. 22.

or churche mans office, to meddle with ſuche matters: thei haue their princes, guides, and gouernours the churche men be no ſuche: For **Nemo militans deo implicat ſe mundanis negotijs.** It is inough for them to wayte vpon one office, to attende as ſoule prieſtes, & not erraunt bay lifes: Thus farre to the whole in generall: nowe to eche reaſon in ſpecial where it is ſaid: **Et ad virum erit conuerſio vel deſiderium tuum.** I myght aunſwer it with the common interpretacion whiche is. Though both in conceauing and brynging forth thy child, thou ſhalt feele throwes and exceding pãgues: yet ſhalt thou not be hable to withdrawe the from thy huſbande, but ſhalt gyue occaſion to haue more. The payne of the former ſhall not make the to auoyde the next. This is no euill interpretacion, for it aunſwereth in the maner of the payne, the qualite of the offence. As who ſhould ſaye, thou haſt intyced thy huſband to turne to thy folly: I ſhal therfore make the to turne to him, to thine owne ſmarte. This place thus interpreted maketh no more for this matter then Gloria in excelſis doth proue that S. Peter ſayde maſſe: But bycauſe ſome reiect this interpretaciõ: and we ſeke not to cauil, but to fynd the truth: therfor I wil admyt the other, that it maketh for the wiues obedience toward hir huſbande, that ſhe muſt hange vpon him as vpon hir guide, followe his wyll as the wyſer, obey his commaundement as hir ſuperior, and to be ſhort, to knowe him for hir head, and hir ſelfe for his ſubiect. VVhat? Graunt you this? that is inough. yea I muſt nedes do ſo for the truthe els, and myne owne conſcience, would reproue me.

2. Tim. 2.

Prieſtes office is ouer the ſoule.

How

How than answere you? forsothe as I did before that she muste do all this and more, but vsq; ad aras. So far forthe as he comaundeth like a husband, like a christian, and like her head. But if he passe his commission, as if he commaunde that is vngodlye: then she may answer him, as. S. Aug. doth the ruler. Da veniam imperator Tu minaris carcerem, sed deus gehennam. Thou wilt haue me obey thy will for fear of thy prison and sword: but I must obey goddes will, for feare of his eternal fire and damnacion: if her husband will commaund her in the publike weale, she beinge the magistrate, and not he: she may say to him as the cõsul said to Fabi°. siste lictor. Law make my husbād to obey, for heare he is not my hed, but my subiect, yea if he breake any lawe, if it were capitall, she myghte strike with the sword, and yet be a wife good inough for the dutye that she oweth to him, is not omitted in that she obserueth, that she oweth to the commõ weale, wherein he is as a member conteyned. But if for her wedlocke dutie to him, she will neglecte the common vvealth: Then is she a louing wife to him, and an euel head to the countrey. The. ii. reason out of Esay. maketh as muche as for debarringe of yonge Princes rule, as Ioas, Iosias and our swiet kinge Edwarde (as his sister Marye helde) as it dothe againste women, for they be ioigned together, but in dede it maketh againste neither. For Esaye beinge worthelye called the Demosth: of the Hebrues, vseth suche goodly figures of speaking, as all the scripture hathe not beside, as in this place, I will take from you your

Aug. & habetur. 11 q. 4. cap. ita corpo° ris qui resistit°

Limidec. 3

A vvomã maye rule as a magistrate, and yet obey as a vvife.

The, ii, reason.

Esay the Hebrues Demosth.

honerable Senators, and your wise counselers, and I
Esaie. will geue you boyes and women, or effeminate per-
sons to reigne ouer you, not boyes in age, but in ma-
Eth. 1, ners (as Aristotle saithe of yonge men, that to heare
Philosophie it maketh no matter for their yeares,
but for their maners) not women in sexe, but in feble-
nes of wit, and not suche as some women be, wiser,
better learned, discreater, constanter, then a number
of men: but such as women be of the vvurst sort, tōd,
foliſh, wanton, flibbergibbes, tatlers, triflers, waue-
ring, witles, without counsell, feable, careles, rashe,
proude, deintie, nise, tale bearers, eueſdroppers, ru-
mor raisers, euell tonged, worse minded, and in e-
uerye wise, doltefied with the dregges of the Deuils
dounge hill, as these minions be: such shall your se-
natoures and rulers be, that shallbe neither hable to
rule them selfes nor you. No Deborahes, no Iudiths
no Hesters, no Elyzabethes. For sure wher such be:
ther is no token of Gods wrath, whiche the Prophet
threatneth here: but of gods fauoure, wherof we may
be assured. Therfor this argumente riseth of wronge
vnderstandinge, as the Vicar of Trumpenton vnder-
stode Eli, Eli, lamahzabatani, when he red the Passi-
on vpon Palme Sonday, when he came to that place
he stopped, and calleing the Churchwardens saide.
Neighboures this geare muste be amended, heare is
Eli twise in the booke, I assure you if my L. of Elie
come thys waye and see it, hee will haue the booke.
Therefore by mine aduise we shall scrape it out, and
put in oure owne townes name, Trumpington, Trū-
pington lamahzabactani, they consented, and he did
so, be-

ſo, becauſe he vnderſtode no grewe. So they that vſe this place for a weapon againſt this matter, thei fault in homonymia, not conſidering that words haue proper ſignifications and tranſlations.

The. iii. reaſon of this argument is oute of Saint Paule, wherby, women be forbidden to ſpeake in the congregacion, for it is an vnſemely thinge for them to ſpeake. This is meruelouſlye amplefied and vrged, as thoughe it were ſo ſounde as no faulte, nor cracke coulde be founde in it. This is the Hercules clubbe that beateth all downe before it. Theeſe bee Sampſons lockes, that make him ſo ſtronge, wherefore there muſte be taken ſome paines in the confutinge of it: fyrſte therefore, I laye this foundacyon whiche I laide before, that Saynt Paule, nor none of the reaſt of Chriſtes garde, meddle not with Cyuill pollycie, no further then to teach obediēce, nor haue no commiſſion thereunto in all the whole ſcripture. And this beinge a greate matter of pollicie, yea the greateſt (for it conteigneth the whole) it can not be within the compaſſe of Pauls commiſſion, and ſo foloweth it, that Paul either in this place ment no ſuch matter as they gather: or if he did: he did it wythout the compaſſe of his commiſſion, but that is vnlike. For as he ſaide in one thinge, ſo ſurely did he in all, Quod accepi a domino id tradidi vobis Et imitatores mei eſtote ſicut ego Chriſti. VVell what then ment he. This he ment. That though he ordeined that euery mā in the aſſemblie eccleſiaſtical about the word of God ād praier, ſhuld haue leaue, orderly ād in his courſe, to ſpeke ād vtter, for thinterpretatiō of the ſcripture, all that was re-

The. iii. reaſon.

1. Cor. 11. 1. Cor. 4.

1. Cor. 14

reueled him by the ſpirit of God, yet womē (becauſe they be not mete, neither by nature nor ſtudy to preche and interprete ſcriptures) he woulde not haue to medle with it there. And as Primaſius and Theophi: ſaith the cheſeſt cauſe that moued Paule to take thys order, was the common faulte that then was in that ſexe. For being ſomwhat inſtructed, by the hearing of thapoſtles in the miſteri of ſaluacion, in the croſſe of Chriſt, they began to thinke ſomethinge of them ſelues, and turned that was taughte to edifye with, to a iangling and tatlinge in the church when thei met, ſo that the congregacion was thereby diſturbed. For the auoydinge whereof, Paule mente to bridle them: as withoute doubte, he wold haue done the mē alſo, if they had prophecied vnorderly, or made it a matter of diſcorde: as it hathe bene of late in ſome congtegacions, where it hathe bene reuiued . And not only he debarred the women from propheſiyng: but alſo from anye publike function in the eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction. For in ſuch as ſhall occupy the pulpit, is required theſe things, that they be mete to teach, to reproue, and conuince. In teaching is required gra uitie, learning, and eloquence . In reprouinge courage and ſounde iudgemente , and in conuincynge Artes, memorye and muche ſcience . And becauſe the bringinge vppe of vvomenne , is commonlye ſuche , as they canne not haue theeſe thynges (for they bee not broughte vppe in learnynge in Scholes , nor trayned in diſputacions . Or if they were yet becauſe nature hathe made them ſofter and milder then menne . Yet bee they not ſuche as are meete

Primaſ. in 1. Cor 14 Theoph.

VVhat is requyred in a pulpit man.

as are mete for that function.) Therfore be they vn-
mete for this calling. For thoſe that be preachers,
muſt be no mylke ſoppes, no white lyuered gentle-
men, that for the frowning and cloudy countenaunce
of euery man in authoritie, will leaue his tackle and
crie Peccaui. They muſt be of ſuch nature, as the Poet
ſaieth of Crito, in vultu grauitas, in verbis fides. They
may not be afrayed to rebuke the proudeſt, no not
kynges and quenes ſo farfurth as the two tables rea-
cheth. As we ſee in Samuel, Nathan, Elie, Ihon Bab-
tiſt, and many other. They may not ſtoupe to euery
mans becke, and ſtudy to pleaſe man more thē God.
If hereſies ariſe, they muſt haue their tooles ready
to mete with thaduerſary and to ouerthrowe hym:
whiche he can not haue, onles he haue trauayled in
many ſciences, harde and redde much, which thinges
becauſe they be huſwyues) women can not haue cō-
monly, and therfore they be vnmete hereunto. Yea
God knoweth ſo be many mē to: for it is not inough
for a man to tell a fayre tale in the pulpit, and when he
commeth downe is not able to defende it. If prea-
thers and ſpirituall miniſters be ſuche: where be we
when we come to handgripes, (They muſt not only
floriſhe, but they muſt know their quarter ſtrookes,
and the waye how to defende their head, their head
Chriſte I ſaye, and his croſſe. And ſpecially in theſe
dayes, wherin Sathan ſpiting the happy grouthe and
grenes of Gods field, ſoweth tares and fytches of he-
reſies and ſectes continually, to choke or to empayre
the good corne if it may be. VVhat ennemies haue
we of the Papiſtes? vnlearned thinke you? nay, who

Preachers muſt be nomilck ſoppes.

Terent.

so encountreth with them, had nede haue his harnes wel bucked to hym, or he may chaūce to take a wipe: I would they were aswel mynded, as they be learned. VVhat saye you nowe to the Arrians? whiche suer, are lyke to enfect the best heads in Europe (.I meane the Italyans) if God prouide not remedy. Shall it be easy thynke yon for euery man to ioyne with them? I can not tell howe simple they be. But one man of that sect so distourbed a whole vniuersitie in Germany, that all the learned men there, and the Prince him self, was not hable to scrape out that he had wickedly grauen. The Swingfieldians, the Maioranes, the Pelagians, the froward freewyll men, the Adiaphoristes, the Osdrianistes, the newe Marcionistes, the Anabaptistes, with infinite other swarmes of Sataniştes, do you thinke that euery pulpit man wyll be hable to aunswer them· I pray God there be many that can. I saye therfore because there is so muche required in a spirituall minister: that all men bee not mete for the office. And therfore that with good reason women bee debarred from it. Albeit, at some tymes it pleaseth God to vse their ministrie euen in this poynt, as the woman of Samaria, whiche was the fyrst preacher to hir cytezens of the Messias, and the women, the fyrst Apostles and messengers of the resurrection. And as we reade in the Ecclesiasticall historie, A certen woman vnder Const. Mag. was the Apostle of the Iberians, whiche turned first the Kynge and Quene, and then the whole countrey to the fayth of Christe. This coulde not bee doone

Tubinga in Sueuia.

Ioh. 4.

Math. 28, Marc. 16, Ioh. 20.

Ruff. li. 10 cap. 10.

Theo. li. 1. cap. 23.

done withoutſome talke in thaſſẽblies, nor without a kynde of preachyng. Yea, Theodoretus ſayeth, that ſhe dyd preache to them: wherfore me thinke euen in this poynte wee muſte vſe ἐπιεικείᾳ a certen moderacion, not abſolutelie and in euerye wyſe to debarre them, herein (as it ſhall pleaſe GOD) to ſerue Chriſte. Are there not in Englande women thynke you, that for their learnynge and wyſdome, coulde tell their houſholde and neighbours, as good a tale as the beſt Sir Ihon there? And what if by occaſion, not by common office, they ſhoulde ſumtyme make their neighbours partakers of their giftes: were it ſo heinous a matter? I pray you what more vehemencye vſeth Paule, in the forbiddynge of women to preache, then inforbydding them to vncouer their heads. He ſayeth of the one, it is euyll fauoured, and of the other: that it is againſt nature. And yet you knowe that in the beſt reformed churches of all Germany: all the maides be bare headed, whiche the preachers and learned men, make noo greate accompte of. This I ſaye, not becauſe I allowe either (for I aſſure you I dooe not.) But that wee ſhould not in ſuche pointes, grate vpon the woordes to ſore, as though in no reſpecte a woman may opẽ hir mouth to edifie. But if this be vtterly taken from them in this place: what maketh it againſt their gouernment in a politike weale, where neither the woman nor the man ruleth. If there be no tyraunts, but the lawes. For as Plato ſaith. Illi ciuitati paratũ eſt exitiũ vbi magiſtratꝰ legibus inperat, et nõ leges magiſtratui. That cytie is at the pits brinke, wherin the magiſtrate ruleth the

1. Tim. 2.

1. Cor. 11.

As vvomẽ be forbidden to preache, ſo be they to go bare headed.

Plato de leg. lib. 3.

the lawes, and not the lawes, the magiſtrate: VVhat could any kyng in Iſraell do in that cõmon wealth, beſides the pollycie appoynted by Moyſes? They be but miniſters, obeyed for the lawes ſake, and not for their owne. Nowe what vnhablenes is in a woman for the miniſtring of lawes? She knoweth not the lawes, no more doth your kyng. She ſitteth not in iudgement, howe oft doth your kyng? Onles you call determining matters in his priuie chamber, iudging. She is not mete to go to the warres, ſhe hath that bee mete, and ſome wemen haue gonne and ſped wel. She is not of ſo ſound iudgement, peraduenture beter, & of more lerning then your kyng, as it happeneth at this tyme, that you can neuer ſhewe in al Englande ſynce the conqueſt, ſo learned a kyng, as we haue now a Quene. Men will not ſtande in awe ſo muche of a woman as of a man: that is their faulte and not hirs. No more will they of a childe, and yet be they traytours that do diſobey him. Solinus writeth that the neighbours of Sambri haue a dogge to their kynge, and by his beckes and fawnings they geſſe what they muſt do. But thei were foles in obeying a brute beaſt, and you bee Traytours in not obeying a reaſonable creature. They are to obedient (a ſhrewed faulte) and you to diſobedient, that is no faulte. VVell a womã may not reigne in Englande: Better in England, thẽ any where; as it ſhall wel appere to him that without affection, will conſider the kinde of regiment. whyle I conferre ours with other as it is in it ſelfe, and not maymed by vſurpacion: I can fynde none either ſo good or ſo indifferent. The regiment of Englande is

Tillius Arnoldus Iuſt. Herodot.

Solin. 43. cap.

It is leſſe daunger to be gouerned in Englãd by a vvoman then any vvhere els

not a

not a mere Monarchie, as ſome for lacke of conſideracion thinke, nor a meere Oligarchie, nor Democratie, but a rule mixte of all theſe, wherein ech one of theſe haue or ſhoulde haue like authoritie. Thimage whereof, and not the image, but the thinge in dede, is to be ſene in the parliamēt hous, wherin you ſhal find theſe. 3. eſtats. The King or Quene, which repreſenteth the Monarche. The noble men, which be the Ariſtocratie. And the Burgeſſes and Knights the Democratie. The verye ſame had Lacedemonia the nobleſt ād beſt city gouerned that euer was, thei had their kings, their ſenate ād Hippagretes, which wer for the people. As in Lacedemonia none of theſe could make or breake lawes, order for warre or peax, or do any thing without thother, the king nothinge without the Senate and commons, nor either of thē or both withoute the kinge (Albeit the Senate and the Ephori had greater authoritie then the Kinge had) In like maner, if the parliament vſe their priuileges: the King can ordein nothing without them. If he do. it is his fault in vſurping it, and their follye in permitting it: wherefore in my iudgement thoſe that in King Henry the. viii dais, would not graunt him, that his proclamacions ſhuld haue the force of a ſtatute, were good fathers of the countri, and wurthy cōmendacion in defending their liberty. Vvold God that that court of late daies, had feared no more the fearcenes of a woman, then they did the diſpleaſure of ſuch a man. Then ſhould they not haue ſtouped contrary to their othes and alledgiaunce to the crowne, againſte the preuilege of that houſe, vppon

The kind of gouern ment in England.

A monarchie is vvher one alone rule

An Obligarchie vvhere a fevv rule.

A Democratie vvher the people rule.

Architas de leg. & iuſtit.

The Parliament in Kinge Henry. 8. daie.

Thereceiuing of the Popes absoluti in the Parliament.

their marye bones to receiue the Deuels blessinge, brought vnto them by satans Apostle the Cardinal, God forgeue him for the doing, and them for obeying. But to what purpose is all this? To declare, that it is not in England so daungerous a matter, to haue a woman ruler, as men take it to be. For first it is not she that ruleth but the lawes, the executors whereof be her iudges, appoynted bi her, her iustices of peace and such other officers: but she may erre in chusing such: so may a Kinge: and therfore they haue theyr counsel at their elbow, which by trauail abrod, know men howe fit or vnfit they be for suche offices. 2. She maketh no statutes or lawes, but the honerable court of Parliament: she breaketh none, but it must be she and they together or els not. 3. If she shuld iudge in capitall crimes: what daunger were there in her womanni she nature? none at all. For the veredict is the 12. mennes, whiche passe vppon life and deathe, and not hers: Onlye this belongeth to her myniſterie, that when they haue founde treason, murdre, or felonie, she vtter the paine limited in the lawe for that kind of trespasse. Yea but this she can not do because a womā is not learned in the lawes, No more is your kinge, and therefore haue they their ministers, whiche can skill if they be cruell, wicked, handmakers, and bribers, it is their faulte, and not the Princes, onles he know them to be such and winke at it. VVhat maye he doe alone wherein is pearill? She maye graunte pardon to an offender, that is her prerogatiue, wherein if she erre: it is a tollerable and pityfull error to saue life. She maye mispende the reuenues of the

of the crowne wantonlye, so can kings do to, and cõmonlye do, and yet may they be kings: if on thother part, the regiment were such, as all hanged vppon the Kinges or Quenes wil, and not vpon the lawes wrytẽ: if she might decre and make lawes alone, without her senate. If she iudged offences according to her wisdome, and not by limitation of statutes and laws: if she might dispose alone of war and peace: if to be short she wer a mere monark, and not a mixte ruler, you might peraduẽture make me to feare the matter the more, and the les to defend the cause. But the state being as it is or ought to be (if men wer wurth theyr eares) I can se no cause of feare, nor good reason why Saint Paule forbiddinge her to preache, shoulde be thoughte to forbidde her to rule, nether Saint Chrisost. Amb. Theoph. or Primassius writinge vppon that place gather anye suche thinge as you strain out of it. I knowe verye well that Ambrose saithe, they maye not teache, be witnesses nor iudge, and Aug. in li. 2. gen: et hab. 23. q. 5. Est ordo saith he. It is a naturall order in men that the women shuld obey theyr husbandes, and children their parents. Saint Hierom thought them vnmete to iudge alone by their discretion, Ergo, to beare rule and conferre in pollitike matters with other. Nay it is a fallax a dicto secundum quid ad simpliciter: for he forbiddeth them to iudge in a respect, neither hauinge rule by enheritaunce nor iudging and conferring with other, and yourtherfore gather that simplie they are forbidden Deborah iudged and that lawfully, which cam not to it by enheritaunce, but by extraordinarye callinge. Muche more:

VVhere mixt rules be, vvomens gouernment cannot be dangerus.

Amb. li. q. vet & notest. & hẽtr. 33. q. 8.

more may ſhe that to Gods callinge hathe ioygned thordinarie meanes of enheritaunce, her commons conſent, and confirmaciō of lawes. To Saynt Auſten and all the reſt, which wolde haue women in the ſubiection of their huſbandes, is to be anſwered as before: that their meaning and ſpeaking was, of euery priuate woman in the bonds of mariage: And not of thoſe which God by birth hath called to the gouernments of realmes. Neither is it to be thought that any of thold fathers wold be ſo iniurious to any heirs female: as to take frō thē their fathers patrimony, or that wold that al other mēs daughters ſhuld haue āð enioy their right: and kings daughters ſhuld be put frō their righte. Either ſo ſeuer thinheritaunce from the dominion, that they maye haue thone withoute the other, (whiche wilbe harde for you to do) or els graunt them both as you oughte to do. The daughters of Silphad by the iudgement of God and not of man were enhabled to their enheritaunce: And ſhall we take vppon vs to iudge in our pollicie otherwiſe then God did in his? Againe, Saint Auguſtine, Hierome, the Cannon law, and Ariſt: meddle not wyth thoſe rules and gouernmentes, whiche come by lyneall diſcentes, coincydent and linked with the inheritaunce: but with ſuch as ſtand in election. VVherfore it is to be noted, that there be. iii. maner of Magiſtrates. One choſen by lotte, as was the houſe of Saul. A nother by Suffrages and election, as in Venice, Polonia, the fre Cities of Germany, and thempire. And the thirde prouided of God by lineall ſucceſſion, as in Fraunce, England, and other Kingdōs.

Anſvvere to the fathers.

Vvomans inheritāce linked vvith the dominiō. Nu. 27.

The diuerſities of Magiſtrates.

If

if any were to be choſen by lotte, or ſuffrage; I would not in dede that any woman ſhould ſtand in the election, but men only: for I ſay with Ariſtotle, that τὸ ἄρρεν φύσει ἡγεμονικώτερον the male is by all lykelihod meter to rule, then the womā in many reſpectes. And vndoubtedly in the whole number of men, might be founde ſome one that ſhoulde in all reſpectes, paſſe the beſte among women in wiſdome, grauite, learning, vnderſtanding, ſobrietie, temperauncie, hablenes to take paines, warlykenes, iuſtice, fortitude. &c. But when it ſtandeth in no mans election, but in his hande that ſhapeth male or female, in the wombe of the mother, at his pleaſure: Then hath mans voyce no authoritie, by cauſe he hath gyuen ouer his right in chuſing, by cōmon conſent vnto God. That he according to his inſcrutable wyſdome, may chuſe and diſpoſe, as he pleaſeth. This being doone, ſhall man pull back his graunt, or call God to accompt and ſay, Nay when we agreed, the matter ſhould be referred to your iudgemēt: we ment not that you ſhould ſend vs a woman to rule ouer vs: or we had forgottē to put that in the cōdicions, and therfote you muſt geue vs leaue to reuoke our graūt, for we can prouide better then thus, our ſelfes. VVere not this a foly ſhe plea (thinke you) and a mad enterpriſe? wold he not ſone aunſwer vs. Oh you preſumptuous fooles, that haue ſuche opinion of your own wyt: who made empires and kyngdomes, dominions and rules? who preſerueth and mainteineth them? whoſe be they? yours or myne? muſt you haue the ordering or I? If they bee myne: why let you me not alone with them? If they be yours:

In Englād God hath al the voices in his ovvn hād.

Gods aunſvver to mens foly

be yours: ſhewe your euidence howe you came by
Math. 20. them: ſhall not I do with myne what I liſte? Is therfore your eye ill becauſe I am good? Murmur ye at myne anoynted, becauſe ſhe is a woman? who made man and woman, you, or I? yf I made hir to lyue: may I not make hir to reigne? If I apoynt hir to the office? can I not adourne hir, and make hir hable to diſcharge it? VVhy then (you of litle faithe) eyther feare you my good wil: or miſtruſt you my power? you are muche worſe then Saule in this poynte, whome I reiectyd for diſobedience. For when I
1. Samu. ſent my ſeruaunt Dauid, yonge of age, and no Gyante in ſtature, with his ſhepe hoke and his ſlynge: Saule woulde haue armed hym wyth hys owne armoure? But when Dauid threwe it of and wente his waye naked againſt his enemy, a great hyghe monſtre, in compariſon of hym: Saule myſtruſted not as you do: murmured not as you doo, ſayinge, ah this poore boye is not hable to be our champion, and to defende our libertie: but he prayed for him, and wyſhed him well in the name of Iehouah the lorde of hoſtes. It is I tell you all one to me, to ſaue with many or few, with armour or without, by a woman or by a man. VVhat letteth, that ſhe may not as well repreſent my maieſtie, as any of you all? If I be beſt repreſented by the ſhining ornamentes of the mynde, and not the outwarde ſturdines of the body: why may not ſhe haue at my hande that any of you haue? wiſdom to gouerne, iuſtice to puniſh, clemẽcie to pardon, diſcreſcion to iudge. I that coulde make Daniel a ſucking babe, to iudge better then the wiſeſt of the

The maieſtie of god repreſẽted by a vvomã no les then by a man.

Dansel. 13. Num. 22.

of the lawyers: A brute beaſte to reprehende the follie of a Prophet: and poore fiſſhers, to confound the great clarkes of the worlde: can not I make a woman to be a good ruler ouer you, and a mete miniſter for me? VVhat vnlykelihod ſe you in hir? are your eyes ſo dulle? or your myndes ſo malycious? that you cā not or wyll not ſee thoſe Iewelles, wherwith I haue deeked hir? is that rare learning, that ſingulare modeſtie, that heauenly clemencie, that chriſtiane conſtancie, that loue of religion, that excellent wyſdom with many more of my graces, nothīg in your ſight? I ſhewed you the lyke towarde in a man of late: but for your owne vnworthines, I toke him from you: And wil you nowe, I haue geuē you this: make your ſelues vnworthy to enioye hir? Leaue of, leaue of, your owne pollycie, which is but folly, and embrace my ordinaunce, as it is your dutie. For I pulle down whome I will, and ſet vp whome I wil. Though God ſpeaketh not thus to vs audibely: yet ſuer, he nedes muſt thus ſpeake in our cōſcience inwardly. VVherfore let vs leaue of to diſpute, and beginne to praye, that it maye pleaſe hym to ſtably ſhe hir ſeate amonge vs, and to ſende hir longe lyfe and quiet reigne, to defende hir and vs from inuaſions abrode and conſpiracies at home, to geue hir grace to ſeeke his honour, and maynteine the truthe, to guide hir harte in the choiſe of hir huſbande, and to make hir frutefull, and the mother of manye chyldren, that thys Realme maye haue the graftes of ſo goodly a tree, That oure chyldren and poſterite maye ſee hirs occupying hir throne, with honour, ioye, & quietnes.

VVe muſt praye for the Queenes eſtate and not diſpute of hir right.

quietnes. The remembraunce of hir vertues carieth me awaye from my matter: wherfore I return. And becaus Ari. is thought to be of ſuch authorite in this matter, let vs a litle examine his woordes, ἡγεμονικώτερον ἐςι τὸ ἄῤῥεν ἢ τὸ θῆλυ that is the male is moore mete to rule then the female, well, what inferre you? ergo the woman vnmete. I denie that argument, you ſhould rather ſaye the woman is not ſo mete, that we could graunt you, and not a whyt hurt our cauſe: for otherwyſe no man will reaſon, as to ſay this man is better learned then the other: ergo thother is vnlearned. Chalke is whyter then cheeſe: ergo cheeſe is black. No man that knoweth what compariſon is, wyll bryng two contraries in one compariſon, as to ſaye pitche is blacker then ſnowe, or fyer is whotter then water. But if they compare two thynges together they muſt be ſuche as they haue in one qualite or propertie maius et minus. As I ſaye right. A man is more mete to rule then a childe. That is not by affirmacion and negaciō, as becauſe thone is apt, therfore thother is not, and euen ſo of a mā and a womā, he is more mete: therfore it foloweth not that ſhe is vtterly vnmete. And therfore Plato Ariſt. maſter not a whit wurſe learned then his ſcholer, ſaith: Magiſtratus vtriuſque Sexus preficimus nuptijs, our maner is to make officers of both ſexes to ordre mariage. And ſaint Paule as we haue declared, gyueth them a kynd of gouernment οἰκοδεσποτεῖν to gouerne the houſe. And lykewyſe Ariſto. him ſelfe in the Ethikes. So that neither Philoſopher, nor Apoſtle, dealeth with them ſo hardly as you do. But Ariſt. 3. polit: ſaieth, that cities

Anſwer to Ariſto.

Plat. in Timeo.

Ariſt. in Eth. lib. 8. cap. 10.

that cities be euil gouerned by women. Vvhat, by al or by some? if he saye by all, we can reproue him by many instances: if he saye by some: we can saye the same of men. So that you se: that these be no oracles which you bring in out of Aristotle, wherby (if you haue no better authoritie then this) you can not put them out of possession. In this poynte I can not but think you much blame wurthy, not that maliciously (as many do) you peruert the sayinges of the authors: But for that negligently, you passe them ouer without waying and vnderstandinge their sayinges, without conferring and matching place with place, and saying with saying. For if in the citinge of Aristotle you had ioigned the Ethikes with the Pollitikes, I surely beleue, that you wold haue made him none of your iury in this matter. For in the Ethikes handlinge the kindes of rule, what is a Monarchie, what an Aristocratie, and what a Democratie, saithe of the rule of the man and the wife thus: Viro cum vxore ius id intercedit, quod est in optimorum potestate. Nam pro dignitate ijs in rebus imperat, quæ dignæ sunt viro. Quæ autem feminam decent: eas ei tribuit. Quod si in omnibus præsit vir ac domineture: in paucorum potestatem fit mutatio, quoniam contra dignitatem facit, non qui est præstantior. Interdum etiam mulieres præsunt cum amplũ patrimonium consecutæ sunt. The rule and kind of gouernment betwixt the man and the wife saithe Arist: is like the gouernment of the chiefe, or of a Senate. For the man accordinge to his wurthines, ruleth in such thinges as becommeth him, and the wife in suche as is meete for her. If so be the man will rule and

Lib. 8. ca. 10.

Vt supra.

A Senate vvher ma ni rule to gether.

beare the ſwaye in all: Then is the rule chaunged into an Oligarchie, that is, where a fewe beare the ſtroke, and herein he dothe otherwiſe then becommeth him. Sometime women alſo hauing great and large patrimony beare the ſway. In the which wordes I noote firſt, that the Philoſopher leaueth a kind of rule to the woman, whiche is hers ſo muche by nature, as the huſbande pullinge it from her, entreth into a kinde of tirannie and violateth the moſte naturall and beſt ordre. As thoſe do which turne an Ariſtocratie to an Oligarchie that is the better into the worſe. Secondly if I woulde grate vpon the wordes, and take the aduauntage of the compariſon: I mighte neare gather an equall authoritie betwixte the wife and the huſbande. For euery man knoweth that in the rule of the cheſe, whiche is called Ariſtocratie (whereunto he likeneth that in Mariage) there is equalitie and none vſurpeth vpon an other. But I will not ſo followe the aduauntage of mine argumente: that I will confounde goddes apoyntmente. Thirdlye it appeareth plaine by this place of Ariſtotle: that in his time it was a common order that women enheritoures, ſhoulde rule their landes, houſes, and poſſeſſions (VVhiche is oure caſe) and yet not be thoughte to do againe nature in ſo doinge: Theſe things cõſidered, you muſt nedes not only be thought to deale to ſtraightly with this ſexe by plucking from them all, when your Philoſopher geueth them ſome, but alſo to be much overſene in ouerſeing and peruſing your authors. But leaſte Ariſtotle ſhoulde kepe vs to long from matter of more weight and authoritie

An Oligarchie is vvhere a fevv beare the ſtroke

thoritie, I wil return again from the Philoſopher to the Apoſtle. If you reaſon in this place of S. Paule. Nō permitto mulieri loqui. I ſuffer not a womā to ſpeke in the congregacion. Ergo, not to rule, thinking that it is formall, a minore ad maius from the leſſe to the more: your logike ād diuinitie both do fail you. For it is not to be taken thus, Paul forbiddeth her the les for her vnaptnes, Ergo, he debarreth her of the greater. But in dede it is contrary wiſe, he forbiddeth her the greater and more chargeable function whiche is the ſpirituall miniſterie and preaching: therefore it followeth not that he ſhutteth her from the les, whiche is extern pollicy. No man I think doubteth but that the Eccleſiaſticall function is greater and more chargeable then the other, for thone concerneth the bodye, and the other the ſoule. The one reacheth no further then outwarde actes, but the other pearceth to the harte and thoughtes That binedeth in earthe the bodye, thys fettereth boothe in heauen and in earthe, the ſoule: The one as Sainte Auguſt: ſaithe, threatneth priſones, the other eternall damnacyon. The one maye be executed by deputies: the other muſte execute him ſelfe de manu tua. &c. To the one is required iuſtice and no great learning: thother can not be without great lerning and knowledge. Thone treteth of the world, thother of heauē, thone of thinges temporall, thother of thinges eternall, and to be ſhorte, the one belongeth to this life, and the other to lyfe euerlaſtinge. VVherefore what wyll ſerue the one: wyll not ſerue the other. For they bee not

1. Cor. 14.

The churche mans office of more charge thā the temporall rulers.

Aug. & hē tr. 11. q. ca. ita corp.

Ezech. 3. & 33.

ἀντιδιάφορα.

ἀντιστρέφοντα A good churchman mighte be a good ruler as Samuel was: but euery good ruler ran not be a good churchman. Thus we ſee that Sainte Paule thruſtinge that Sexe from the greater function and office: do the not alſo diſable it to execute the other which is leſſe. But you wil ſay in England ſhe muſte haue both. How can ſhe diſcharge both, if you make thone ſo hard? I anſwer that in dede both belonge to her but not in one maner. For in thone (as pollicye) ſhe hath a function, that is ſhe muſt be a doer: in the other ſhe hath thauthority and ouerſight but not the function and practiſe as we ſe in the common welth of the Iewes. Firſt betwixt Aaron and Moiſes. Moiſes comptrolled Aaron, but yet he executed not Aarons office, he offred no incenſe nor ſacrifice ordinarely, he medled not with tharke, nor any ſuch thing as belonged to the prieſthode, he ware not the garments, he miniſtred not the ſacraments, and yet had he authoritie to redreſſe his faults, as it appeareth in the matter about the calf, and by the commiſſiō whiche he receiued at Gods hand **Tu eris illi in deum & ille erit os tuum.** Thou ſhalt be his God and he thy ſpeche man. VVell but Moiſes authority (ſaye ſome) was not ouer the prieſts, becauſe he was a prince, but in that he was a prieſt, and ſo was it lawful for him to meddle with church matters, becauſe he was a churche man. This hold they, that wold haue prieſtes to be kinges: and not kinges ouerſeers of prieſtes. Ther groūds to proue him a prieſt: be theſe. Firſt that the pſalme calleth him ſo. **Moiſes & Aaron inter ſacerdotes eius, &c.** Moiſes and Aaron amonge his prieſtes. Seconda-

Hovv the Quene may ouerſee the churche, and yet be no prieſt. Exod. 32.

Exod. 4.

Pſalm. 98.

condarely, that ſaint Auguſt. vpon the ſame pſalme ſaith ſo. And. 3. that to the Hebrewes, and in Exodus he is ſaid to ſprinkle bloud vpon the aultar. Laſt of al, that a prince can not geue to an other, that he hath not him ſelfe: and therfore if he be not a prieſt he can not electe, nominate, ordeine, or correcte prieſtes.

To theſe I aunſwere ſhortly, and firſt to the firſt. In the Pſalme howe ſo euer the old interpreters gaue it, we rede in the Hebrewe Cohanim, whiche is a worde indifferent to the chief prieſtes, or thechief princes, wherfore ſuche as doo beſt vnderſtande that tongue, geue it thus, Moiſes & Aaron inter miniſtros eius. Moiſes and Aaron among his miniſters, and to proue that it may be ſo, the ſcripture calleth Dauid his ſonnes Cohanim. miniſters. For no man is ſo fond to ſaie, that a kinges ſonnes were prieſtes. Yea the beſt amōg the Hebrewes interpreting this woorde, giue it in Chorei ſhemo. Moiſes & Aaron inter eos qui inuocant nomen eius. Moiſes and Aaron among thoſe, that called vpon his name. Thus we ſee that this place truly vnderſtande maketh no whyt to proue Moiſes prieſthod. To the expoſition of S. Aug. whoſe wordes be theſe. Aperte enim in illis literis Aaron nominatur ſacerdos: de Moiſe non ibi dicitur quod ſacerdos erat, ſed ſi hoc non erat quid erat? Nunquid ſacerdote maior eſſe poterat? Expropiat Pſalmus quia et ipſe ſacerdos erat. Moiſes et Aarō &c. In that place Aaron is plainly called a prieſt: but of Moiſes it is not ſaid that he was a prieſt. If he were not that, what was he than? Could he be greater then a prieſt. The Pſalme doth vtter it that he was a prieſt. To this expoſition, I ſaye myne anſwere, is that ſaint Auguſt.

2. Sam. 8.

Not vnderſtanding the Hebrewe, was eaſely deceaued, and being wrapped in theſe two places of ſcriptures, wherin there ſemed cõtradictiõ, leaueth thẽ at a iarre as he found thẽ, the one to ſay he was: and the other he was not: whiche maner of interpretacion, & reconciliation of ſcriptures, howe it is to be lyked: I leaue to the learned reader to iudge. 3. That whiche Moiſes is reported in Exodus, and the Hebrewes to haue done as a prieſt, it hurteth vs nothing. For he might do ſometimes that extraordinarely, which belonged to the prieſt, as we read that kinges readde the boke of the law, and yet were no prieſtes. Yea, al the children of Iſrael, at their cõming out of Egipt, dyd as much as this came to, for euery one ſprĩkled bloud vpon their dore poſtes in the paſſeouer, and yet they could not all be priſtes. And this ſprincling of bloud vpon the aultar, was but a ſolempne ceremony, for the time done, and not ſuche a function, as than was proprely appointed to the prieſtes. But to put the matter out of doubt. If Moiſes were a prieſte, than were there two highe prieſtes at ones, whiche coulde not be, by the lawe, and alſo Moiſes muſt nedes be in feriour to Aaron, becauſe Aaron, and not he: is there called the highe prieſt. Thus we ſe how lightly, light argumentes may be aunſwered, and I would wyſhe, that as eaſely, obſtinate men could be ſatiſfied. The laſt is of as litle force as the reſt, and therfor I ſay to it ſhortly, that it is grounded vpon a falſe principle, or maxima, whiche is that none can giue to another that it hath not it ſelfe. VVe ſee that as the phiſicions ſay, the braine being the origine of the ſenewes: giueth to the whole

24. Exod.
Heb. 9.

the whole body, ſenſum & motū, ſenſe and mouing, and yet by their opinion lacketh it ſelfe. Againe, the earth giueth to all frutes, αυξησιν whiche Ariſt. ſaith: is ſpēs motus, that is, that they ſhould growe and moue to a greater quantitie, and yet the earthe it ſelfe, neither moueth toward bygnes nor increaceth one way nor other. And ifa prince may geue to a lawyer, authoritie to plead lawe, though he can not pleade him ſelfe and preſcribe a Tanner how he ſhall tanne, though he tanne not him ſelf, being neither a lawyer nor a tanner, why may he not I pray you in lyke maner, conſtitute, apoint, correct, and ouerſe the church men, though he be no churche man him ſelf. But the meaning of theſe mē, is to driue prīces frō ouerſeing them, that they might in the meane time liue out of ſubiection. And now the name being odious, becauſe theire diſſolute lyfe, hath purchaſed them an euell name, they thinke (when no ſhifte els will ſerue) that princes will not medle with the authoritie, les they ſhould be combred with the prieſtes infamie. VVhat the Princes authorite was ouer the byſſhoppes and prieſtes aperith in the. 2. of the kinges, where Ioas checketh the byſſhop and prieſtes for not beſtowing the offeringes vpon the reparation of the the temple, and enioyneth them to do it. If the prince hadd not this authorite ouer his biſſhoppes and prieſtes, why ſhould S. Paul haue ſaid omnis anima. Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the higher power: he ſaith not al tēporal ſoules, or al ſaue prieſts: This authorite kept the prīces & emperours after chriſts time, vntil the beaſt of Rome made thē worſe thē beaſts: as apearith by Cō-

2. Re. ca. 12

Rom. 13.

ſtantinus Magnus, who was the moderator of the great counſell of Nece. And by Iuſtiniane whiche writeth to Peter the maiſter of his chappel matters, where he ſaieth Iuuemus, we commaunde that all Byſſhops and Prieſtes do not from henceforth whiſper thir Seruice, but ſo pronounce it with an audible voyce, that the people may heare & vnderſtãde thẽ. &c. This Emperour, euen in matters of the churche, toke vpon him thauthoritie to appoint them an order in their Seruice, howe dare then our proude prelates (very fooles in deede to them that were then) wraſtle with the Prince in this matter? But to oure matter we ſee by theſe examples, that the Princes hadde authorite in ſpiritualties to ouerſee them and order them: but meddled not with the function in executing, for that belonged only to the Prieſtes: Lo, I truſte you nowe perceaue, howe the functions doo differ. But thautorite ouer both may lawſully be in one. And that maketh not the Prince beynge a woman, vtterlye vnmete to gouerne, becauſe ſhe hath in ſomme repect to doo in bothe. This I haue ſayde by the waye leſt our aduerſaries the Papiſtes, ſhould ſnatche this at my hande whyle I thus ſeuer thoffices that I meane (as they doo) to pull from the Prince the ouerſight and gouernmẽt of the churche. I may not tary longer in that matter at this tyme. A tyme ſhall come peraduenture when it ſhall be more largly handeled. In the meane tyme, I retourne to my purpoſed argument: Furthermore where it is ſayde thou ſhalt chuſe a Kynge amonge thy brethren, and not among thy ſyſters. And thereuppon is in-

Nceph. lib. 8. Tripart. hiſt. cap. 5

In nouell conſti. 123.

Deut. 17.

is inferred, that we may haue no Quene. It is the like reason as if a man should say. Christ said Veni ad vocandum peccatores ad penitentiam, that is I am come to cal men sinners, and not women sinners. Therfor, either wome be no sinners: or if they be, they shal not bee saued: or as one reasoned examinet se ipsũ homo, let a mã examin him self: and thẽ cõmunicate, ergo, womẽ may not. And Christ shal at the latter day saye, Venite benedicte ãd not Benedicte. Therfore the womẽ shal not com in heauẽ, or nearer to this our purpose, si peccauerit in te frater tuus. If thi brother offẽd the neuer so oft. forgeue him: hereupõ I gather, that I nede not to forgeue mi sister. In al tõgs συνεκλεκτὴ or σύλληψις hath a singuler good grace, and specially e in the Hebrue tonge wher Ach which signifieth a brother dothe not only comprehend also a sister but a nephewe to. And through out the whole scripture the masculine comprehendeth the feminin, or els sure we must say with the phrenitik postellus: that women be not yet redemed, but men and that they must haue a woman to dy e for them, aswell as men hadde Christe. That place of Scripture, which commaundeth a brother to be a king emong the Iewes, had no relacion to a sister, as these mẽ make it, but to straungers. For it followeth non constituus regem alterius gentis. Thou shalt not make the a kinge of a straunge nation. For the people of God, hauing no neighbours that worshipped the true God as thei did: could not haue chosen any straunger to be their kinge, but they shoulde haue bene in daunger of swaruing from God, and falling to Idolatrie. And therfore was it necessary, to a-

Mar. 2.

1. Cor. 11.

Math. 18
Luk. 18

Ach. signifieth, brother, sister and Nephevv.

Postellus phrensy.

Thei vver forbidden to chuſe a ſtraunger becauſe of religion.

poynte them to chuſe one of their brethern. VVhat matter I pray you is here againſte a ſiſter? It mighte haue had ſome coũtenance to proue that the Quene ſhuld not mary with a ſtranger. Albeit it ſerueth not for that neither, for as I ſaye, the commaundement then reſpected the difference in religion and not the ſtraungenes of the nacion, wherefore if ſhe ſhoulde chuſe a ſtraunger of the ſame religion that ſhe is of? ſhe offẽdeth not againſt this cõmandemẽt, for ſuch a one is a brother and not an aliant. S. Paul writinge to Grekes and Gẽtils calleth them brethren, not for good maner, but becauſe they were ſo in dede. Suche reaſons as theſe be, wold haue ſerued an orator, whiche ſeeketh but probabilitie: but they be not for deuines whoſe doctrine muſt be veritie: And the lyke anſwer is to be made to al the places in Samuel or els where in the which mencion is made of a King and not of a Quene. In our tonge is ſome difference betwene a King and a Quene for the Etymologie: But in other tonges they differ only in gender, in the latin tong regina is ſaid a regendo, aſwell as rex in the Greke βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλεύειν and βάσιλις, as in the Hebrue both Melech ãd Malacha com of Malac regnauit thei that haue ben in Germany ãd Italy ſay that it is ſo alſo in thoſe tongs. VVherfor ſeing we geue her the name why pull we from her the office? But you will ſaye that Etimologies geue not allwayes true argumentes, you ſaye truthe for Galenes opinion is that they be not neceſſary demonſtraciõs. And therfore I do not vrge this, as an vnſoluble reaſon: but meting with your eaſy ordinaunce. I am the bolder to ſet

Gale. li. 2. de Hip. & plat. Dogm.

to set against them simple bulwarks. VVell nowe we haue passed ouer the scripture: you bring vs oute of the pulpit into the arches. And there in the Ciuill court, you enter your actiō against vs, and finde the doctors fauorable to pronoūce with you in this plea here I must sew a demur against you and answer you as Hermog: calleth it παραγραφικῶς that is with exceptiō against the court. I sai therfor that this mater belongeth not to the ciuil law, but to the municipal law of England, for like as euery fielde bringeth not forth al frutes: so is not one law mete for al countries. I graunt that the ciuil law is the best, the perfightest and the largest, that euer was made: yet comprehendeth it not al things in al countris. nor at the making and gathering therof in Iustinias time by Tribonianus, Dorotheus, and Theophilus, were all countries and prouinces so known to the Romaines, that they could prouide al laws, that shuld be for al necessary. VVherfor in apoynting vs to be ordred bi the ciuil law you offend in iustitia distributiua as Cyrus in Xenophon did beinge a childe: whiche fineding a great boy to haue a little coate, and a little boye a greate coate, gaue sentence, that the greate boye shoulde haue the greate coate, and the little boye the little coate. But his master corrected hym for his iudgemente. For it was not to bee iudged by the greatnes or smalnes, but which was whose: ād so euery one according to iustice to haue his owne. In like maner you shuld not loking vpō the ciuil law, and wey ing how goodly it is, how larg and indifferent it is, geue it as the great-

Answer to the Ciuil lavv.

Xenoph. in Cyropæd.

great coate to Englande, no more than you wolde appoint the Englisſh law, which is the litle cote to Rome our lawe muſte direct vs, becauſe it beſt agreeth with our country, we haue no further to do with the ciuil law then in arch matters, that is for teſtaments, mariages and ſuch other, as for landes, and enheritance, pains for offences and many other poynts touching the law: ours doth meruelouſly iarre with the ciuill law, as we ſhall in ſome poyntes declare. VVherfore to burden vs with the ciuil lawe? is aſmuch as if you ſhoulde perſwade the Scottes to vſe the Garamantes law, to kil men at. 50. and women at. 40. becauſe the countrey being ſomwhat barren, can not wel noriſh ſuch, as by their age can do no greate good. But that you may ſee, that the ciuill lawe, and oures, agreeth like harpe and harrowe: we wil confer them in a fewe poyntes. And becauſe this matter wherof we treate, concerneth enheritaunce: we wil firſt ſpeake of inheritance. In Englaud the Eldeſt ſonne inheriteth, the fathers landes only, ſauing in Gauel kind. And in mi opinion it is good pollicie, for the continuaunce of houſes. For nothing ſoner deſtroieth greate houſes, then the deuiſion of the enheritance, as it appeareth in Germany, and wil more hereafter to our poſterity, when the yong brothern ſhall not be made abbottes biſhops, and cardinals as they haue hitherto bene. In the Ciuil law, the children ſuccede indifferentlye in their fathers patrimony, in fends the ſonnes, and in other both ſonnes and daughters l. max. vit. ff. ſancimus C. de lib. præt. Itē in Autent. de hered. ab inteſt. in princ. et in. ff. 1. et ff. cum filius. Iuſt. de hered. VVhere you ſee not only

The deuiſion of inheritance, deſtroieth noble houſes.

only our lawe farre to disagree with this: But also that the ciuil lawe graunteth enheritaunce to the females, whiche, you would plucke away. The cyuill lawe, geueth the father power ouer his childe in lyfe and death, specially, that whiche is called Ius vetus, as it aperith Le. 2. C. de par. qui fil dict et le. in suis F de lib. et posth. C. de pat:ptatē. But in England if any father should kill his sonne: he should be tryfed vp for his labor. The cyuill lawe maketh the children of traytors, Infames, but committeth them not to perpetual prison, as they do in Englande. In the cyuil lawe, the king, or lorde of the soile, hath nothinge to do with wardes or tutorshippes, but the next of kynne, if the father in his lyfe tyme apoynte none: but in our law, the kyng hath the wardeship of all that holde of him in capite or knightes seruice. And as it was graunted to the crowne, vpon a necessary respect: So must it not be pulled away, so longe as the same cause remaineth. It was geuen him at the first, in consideration of the great charges in warre, and the smale reuenues that belonged to the crowne. And though suche orders seme hard, thorough thabusing of thē, by some gredyguttes: Yet the realme, hauing alwaies, almost contynuall warres, with the Frenche, or Scottes, or both: who so euer goeth about to pul from the crown suche helpes: vnwittingly, maketh a breache for the enemy to inuade vs. VVherfore I would wishe, that suche as out of gods boke will comptroll the kinges exchequer, should well vnderstand the matter, befor he brought it into the pulpit. In the ciuill lawe, the tutorshippe endith in the males at. 14. yeares of age,

Tit de legtute. ff & lo. & Ti. Iust. de le. app. tut.

VVardeships are not rashly to be pulled from the prince

Cōst. Iust. l. fin. C.

qñd tut. velcur eſſe deſinũt.

and in the females, at. 12. But our lawe kepeth him in nonage vntill. 21. yeres. The cyuil lawe byndeth not him to marry, by the force of his wardſhip, where his Tutor wyll: C. de nup. Marriage muſt be free and in his own choiſe, and may not be compelled by his father, muche leſſe by this tutor. But in England, the tutor hath his mariage, or maketh him to paye for his libertie, how that cõmeth to paſſe, and how in different it is, let the lawyers anſwer. I medle no further, but to ſhewe that it is ſo. The cyuill lawe ſo fauoreth lyfe: that it graunteth a traitour his aduocate to defend his innocencie, but in our lawe he can haue none to ſpeake for him, but him ſelf. For the fault is coũted (and that iuſtly) ſo heynous, that it taketh frõ him, all maner of helpe, to put other in feare. Againe, the cyuill lawe cõdempneth no man, onles he either confeſſe the faulte, or be openly conuicte by witnes ſufficiẽt. But our lawe cõmitteth it to the veredict of 12. mẽ, indwellers in the coũtrey, wher the treſpas is cõmitted, who pronounceth giltie if they thinke ſo, whether he confeſſeth it or no, and oft tymes rather vpon their own cõſcience, then ani great witnes or other euidẽce. This order as it was in it ſelf at the firſt without corruptiõ: was maruelous concionable and godly, and in my iudgemẽt much better then the cyuil order. For they to wring out the cõfeſſion of the fault cõmitted, are driuen to vſe tormentes, and to puny ſhe before they haue tried the faulte, wherein they are ofte tymes deceaued, by rackynge thoſe whiche haue not offended, and dryuinge them for paynes of tormentes to ſaye that they neuer did, as I haue harde, happened at Tubinga, in the wirtenberg

L. nec fil. C de nup. l ſifil. famile. ſi puel tut l. in cõuict. C de nup.

L. ſeruũ ff publ. vi caſtr. nu. ſ Bart.

The triall of capitall crimes by 12. men.

lande, that a man was broken vpon the whele for mur dring an other, which after was foūd a liue, the ſmarts of the tormentes made him to confeſſe it, and lye of him ſelf. In monument wherof his image ſtandeth yet in a glaſſe wyndowe of the churche, euen as he was vpon the whele. Agayne there was in Englande, an Italian, not longe agoo, who (as they ſaye) paſſed thorowe all the tormentes in Venice, and eſcaped without confeſſing the faulte, whiche in deede he hadde committed. On the other ſyde our. 12. men the queſtmongers, being indwellers in the countrey, and men of ſkyll, ſhall learne by the circumſtannces, as by the life of the mā, the commō fame of the people, or their own ſearch in the matter: whether he be ſuche a one or no, and ſo without racking, wreſting, and tormenting, the deede maye be founde. But in deede at theſe dayes it is growen to great corruptiō, and that thorow one ſpeciall meanes, or two which be theſe. If there be any noble man dwellinge in the countrey either a Duke, a Marques, an Earle, or Baron: He ſhall lyghtlye haue in his retynewe all the cobbes in the countrey, whiche be the queſtmōgers, and if any matter be touchinge him, his man, or his frende, whether it bee a cryme capitall, or Niſi prius, ſent downe for landes: the caſe ſhal wey as he wil. For his deteynors muſt nedes haue an eye to my lorde, though they ſhould go to the deuill for it: and ſo be ſome innocentes knyt vp, and ſome offenders delyuered, ſome titles of inheritaūce loſt, agaīſt al iuſtice and right. Another is, if my lord wyll not offend the Statute of retynewe: then muſt the hyghe Shrife be his frende:

Againſt racking.

The queſt mongers.

The iuries and queſts corrupted

The freholders retenours to great men

his frende: And the vnder theſe (vnderſhrife I ſhould ſaye) his man. He empancleth the queſt either ſuche as dare not diſpleaſe my lorde, or for good will, will not. And ſo that way betwixt the highe theſe and vndertheſe, my L. and the curſtmongers, poore mē are out weyed. This corruption if it be not loked to: wil not make this order (whiche was the beſt that could be) to be the wickedſt that can be. But as I ſayde, in it ſelfe (me thinke) it hath much more iuſtice, equytie, and indifferencie, then the cyuill or rather cruel rack hath. If I ſhould peruſe and compare all poyntes wherein ours differ from the cyuill: and ſhewe that for our countrey it is muche meeter, I ſhould neuer make an ende. VVherfore theſe ſhalbe ſufficient, to ſhewe that you muſt brynge our owne weyghtes, to weye our matters by, and not ſtraungers, or els we muſt take you for an euell Clarke of the markett. Therfore if you will iudge well of our municipall matters: you muſte let vs alone with our own coate, and geue the great boye his. Nowe I paſſe to certen inconueniences whiche are thought to come of womens rule. Many inconueniences do commonly followe the rule of women and their enheritinge of kyngdomes, as the loſſe of holdes, and auncient poſſeſſions as experience teacheth of late daies, by the departing from Hams, Guiſnes, and Calyce, with all that we hadde in Fraunce, beſides the daungeringe of the realme to be gouerned by ſtraūgers, which thing of late was muche feared, and not vnlyke to happen. For the firſt, it is to trewe: that in that womās reigne Englande was put to a ſore plunge through hir wylfulnes:

The corruption of the Sherifs

The inconueniences that followe vvomens rule.

The firſt.

wilfulnes: which wold moue warre, when ſhe might haue bene at peax, vpon no iuſt cauſe, but becauſe (as you wold haue her) ſhe wold ſhew her a louing worme and an obediente wife, rather then a catefull gouernes. That follye was accidente to her perſon, and not proper to her ſexe. But admit it to be throughe the fault of a woman: haue we not had as greate, and greater by men? who loſte olde Brytaine to Iulius and the Romaines? men. Vvho loſte it againe to the Saxons? men. Of whom wone it VVilliam conquerour? of men: who loſt it to the Danes? mē, who loſt Normandie, Brytanie, Gaſcoigne, and Guine, and al our right in Fraunce? men, who loſt Bulloigne, Bullenois and all the reſt? a man. VVho killed the Scottiſh King, when Henry .8. was in Fraunce? a woman or at the leaſt her army? who brought in the light of gods worde into Englande? a woman, who lighteth now again the candle after it was put oute? a woman, whereby it is euident that we haue, not yet ſo muche cauſe to complaine of loſſe by them, as by men. And in oure hiſtories whiche we haue before cited: wee maye ſee manye common welthes by women enlarged, or at the leaſte well preſerued, but fewe eyther muche weakened, or vtterlye deſtroyed. Onles you tell me of the deſtruction of Troye, which notwithſtandinge, was rather thorowe the follie of Paris, then anye rule of Helena, and as for thys loſſe we haue nowe, I doubte not, but as the olde fathers are wonte to ſaye, that as by a woman came death: ſo by a woman was broughte fourthe life. In like manner

England hath hitherto taken greater loſſe by mens rule then by vvomens.

as bi a womans (whether negligence, or misfortune, I wote not we haue taken this woūd (so bi a nothers diligence and felicitie, we shal haue it againe healed. If euerye man coulde perswade him selfe of as good successe by her as I do my selfe: I doubte not but the Frenche, and the Scottes bothe, shoulde haue theyr handes full, I praye God oure vnthanckfulnes make vs not to fare the worse. The next and greatest incōuenience and daunger to be feared is, that if a woman inherit: the realm by mariage shall be transferred to straungers. A greate matter I confesse if it so bee, yet GOD maye do with his owne what he liste. Scitote (saith the Prophet) quia deus est dominator in regno hominum, et ipsius regnum est, & cuicunq; vult dabit illud: if he will translate it, who can let it? Yea in a nother King Henries daies. And some translation and ioigning of realmes maye turne to muche good, and the wealth and tranquilitie of many. As if we had had a Kinge for your Quene, or you a King for oures, it had bene a goodly translacion: to haue vnited bothe realmes in dominion, regiment and law, as thei be in nature, lāguage, ād maners. I suppose a great dele better for your coūtry, thē as it is now, thus to be matched, yea subiected and slaued to the proudest, vntruest and the mooste tirannicall nacion, vnder the sonne. I except not the Spaniardes, whose dominion the Italians in Millane, Naples, Scicilie, and elsse where: can muche better brouke and abide, then the light and inconstant French, as Cesar calleth them. If you and we had ioigned together: it had made no

The.2. inconuenience,

Eccles.1.10.

The heuy yokes of the french

Cæsar. in comment.

great

great matter, on which ſide the kinge had bene, ſo he had bene religious. I graunte if all thinges anſwer, it is better ioignynge at home, then chuſing abrode. As if he be no verye baſe or meane perſon, if he loue and feare God, if he be of the ſame religion, indued with good and commendable qualities of wiſdome, Iuſtice, Manhode, Temperaunce, giftes of languages knowledge of Countries, pitifull, mercifull, conſtaunte, ſobre, no hearer of flatterers, continent, not prodigal, but liberal, no extorcioner, &c. Such a one if God ſhoulde lot any Quene, were to be preferred, to any abrode. Onles all theſe, myght be found in a ſtraunger, and therto iouned nobilitie and auncientnes of lynage, and the nation beyng ſuch, as vſe not to rule cruelly, but rather fatherly, then lordly. For by ſuche a one coulde come no great harme, but verye muche good. As for example, if your Quene, ſhoulde haue founde oute ſome Germaine, or ſome ſuche other, whoſe Gouernmente is not rygorous (as in deede theirs is not) theyr hartes not ambytious, the ſame Religion, good bryngynge vppe, a manne of actiuitie, whoſe auncetoures haue bene religious, lyncked wyth manye Prynces, eyther by Conſanguinitie, Affinitie, or ſure Societie, and league, of whome there coulde be no doubte of conueying the treaſure to any other nacion, or bringing in of hys owne countrye men to oppreſſe the Subiectes (as vndoubtedly the Spanyardes and Frenche woulde). Suche a one I ſaye, if God appoynted: I ſee not why the name of a ſtraunger, ſhuld be odiouſe, it is teli-

The ornamentes of an honieborie mā.

Such as be of the same faithe be no straũgers.

is religion and likenes of maners, that ioigne men together, or at the least shoulde so couple them: that agreing therin, we shuld not much stick in the rest, In the kingdom of heauen, is nother Iew nor gentile man nor woman. A stranger if he be a goodman, is as deare in the sight of God, as he that is born in the middest of Edenbrough. This I speake, not because I shute at any one, for that were not only e malapartnes, but madnesse. But to answer mi obiection, whiche is, that tealmes be vndone by the matchinge of Quenes with straungers. Scicilia, as the histories report, was quietly and happely gouerned, so longe as the Duke of Sueuia marrying the heir, had it in quiet possession. But after a Pope of Rome, as the duke passed thorowe Italie, to set order in Scicilie, had bi conspiracy murdred him, it fel euery daye more and more to decay. So that it stãdeth not so much in the chusing of a straunger, as what he is that you chuse. He is one of our brethren, if he be a faithfull Christian, it is maners, faith, and behauior, and not nacyons that make men strangers one to an other. A mã in his own country, at home, if he be not of the housshold of faith: is a straunger. And contrary wise, wher there is one faith, one baptisme, and one Christ: ther is narrower fraternite then, if they came out of one wombe: But to conclude, we must commit all this to God, who hath the hartes of rulers in his handes, as the flouds of waters, and wil so dispose them as shal be most to their peax, to the realmes good, and hys honor, let vs not meddle with bridelinge of Quenes in mariage this way or that wai, we are none of those

Mũsterus in Tab.

Subiectes mai vvish but not vvringe Quenes to mariage.

to whom

to whome it ſhalbe ſaide, who ſhal geue this wom̃. Now thus thou ſeeſt good reader, that al this wynde ſhaketh no corne, that this bolde bluſtering blaſte, though it puffeth, and bloweth neuer ſo muche: Yet can it not moue, or ones ſtirre the ſuer grounded rock of verite. And though it be the propertie of Northrē blaſtes to coole and freeſe: yet in the hartes of good chriſtians, faithfull ſubiectes, and true Engly ſhmen, well warmed with natuall loue, and defended with the walles of wyſdome, obedience, and dutie: it can do nothing. It may peraduenture make a fewe weake redes to wagge, whiche wil ſtyrre at euery litle puffe of wynde: But the ſtronge and harde Ookes ſure roted in loialtie, and growen to a iuſt perfection in the diſcipline of dutie: will neuer ſtirre a leafe for it, conſidering that this blaſte is ſent out of Aeolus at the requeſt of dame diſobediēce, to hindre good Aeneas, ſayling to the porte and hauen of quietnes and loyaltie. Though thou warte not diſpoſed of thy ſelfe, either for opinion of thauthor, or for the noueltie of the matter, to ſtande to thy tackle againſt this ſtorm: yet I doubt not, but now by me rather put in mynde of that thou knoweſt, then taught that thou wart ignorant in: thou wilt ſone contēpne this gale of wynd, and take it to be nothinge, but as it is named verye wynde in dede. Thou ſeeſt it euydently proued, that it ſtandeth well inoughe with nature and all good order, with iuſtice and equitie, with lawe and reaſon, with Gods and mans ordinaunce, with cuſtome and antiquitie: that a woman leafte by hir progenitors, true heire of a realme, hauing the conſent of hir peo-

A recapitulacion.

 ple, the

ple, the ſtabliſhment of lawe, auncient cuſtome, and Gods callyng, to confyrme the ſame: may vndoubtedly, ſuccede her auncettors lawfullye reignyng, in lawful ſucceſſion, both to enheritance and regiment. Thou ſeeſt no ſcripture is agaynſte it, truelye vnderſtande, but rather both in example and practiſe, and alſo in expreſſe word and meaninge, altogether with it. Thou ſeeſt no lawe wherto we be bounde, to debarre this ſexe of this right: but in euerye wyſe to graunte it them, as it ſhal come to their courſe. And that the rule beyng ioyned to thinheritaunce, can no more be plucked from it, ſauynge iuſtice inviolated, then thy ſoule from thy body, and thou yet alyue. Thou ſeeſt laſt of all, that thinconueniences that be feared, be rather bugges to feare babes, then matter to moue men: and ſpecially chriſten mē, which loke not ſo much to tharme of mā, as to the helpe of God for their ſafetie: which truſt not in horſſe and harnes, glayues and gunnes, and ſuch other worldly meanes but in inuocation and faith, and in the mightie arme of God, VVho delighteth no more in the legges of a goodly made man, then in the lamenes of a creeple, Nor in the rugged lookes of a deſperate warryour: then in the mylde countenaunce of a wyſe VVomā. VVherfore the matter ſtandyng ſo, that whoſoeuer rule, man or chyld, male or female, God muſt be our ſhilde, fortreſſe, and bulwarke: Let vs do our dutie bi truſting him, and he wyl do his, by helpyng vs, and ſo much the rather, becauſe that now, it is more like the glory ſhalbe his, if the victorie be ours. Then if we had ſome great Goliah, ſome luſtie champion, to take

Pſal. 147.

VVe muſt caſt our care vpon God.

take the matter in hād. For the next way is, to make him ſhrink from vs, to put ether our whole truſt in any other, or ſo to parte the prayſe with him: that his maieſtie ſhal haue one pece, & our pollicie a nother. How oft crieth he to the Iſraelites. Nay, go to now, cal vpon your gods to helpe you, let me ſe what thei can do for you. Runne to your leaguefellowe the Egiptian and kynge of Aſſiria, in whom you haue put your truſt. Let them ſhyld you, agaynſt thoſe euyls that ſhal come vpon you. VVherfore let vs ſay with Dauid, **Hii in curribus, Hii in equis, nos autem in nomine domini inuocabimus.** Truſt who wyl in their ſtout kinges: we call vpon our God to help our good Quene. Now thou art perſwaded, thou true Englyſhe heart, that thou maiſt and oughteſt to take, eſteme, and honour one of this Sexe appointed of God to rule ouer the, for thie naturall, and lawful ſoueraigne: it is thy part to know and learne, and after to do and performe all maner of dutie to her, which occupieth by mooſt iuſt title, thimperial throne of this Realme. And that thou maiſt the rather, the willinglier, and gladlier do it: I mynd by Gods grace, to treat a lytle of the dutie thou ougheſt her, of the good hope thou mayſt conceiue of her, and the fruit of doyng or balkynge thy dutie towardes her. VVhiche. iii. thynges, whyle I runne ouer: thynke it not longe, for I mynde not to make any long diſcourſe. There is no man ether of wyt ſo dull, of vnderſtandyng ſo ſlender, or of malice ſo obſtinate: but wyl and muſt confeſſe, that God by nature, haue ſo ordained all thinges: that mankinde ſhoulde not onelye rule, and haue the dominion ouer other creatures, which be not of nature ſo excel-

Vve may not part vvith god

Pſal. 19.

cellent as he is, but alſo, one man ouer an other: that ſome ruling and ſome obeing, concorde and ttanquilite might cõtinue. For if al ſhould rule: there ſhuld be none to obey. Or if all ſhould obey: there ſhould be none to rule. VVherfore, God hath ſo diſpoſed his creatures in this world: that ſuche as he wyl deck and beautifie, with his ſingular giftes, ſhould by rulyng other, that lacke them, be meanes to ayde and helpe them. For God ſo careth for the preſeruacion of this godly and comly frame of his, the world: that he will not leaue it without meanes of order, where by it may contynew. And though it be his peculiar propertie, to haue dominion and rule, as the onely kyng and monarke: yet becauſe our dulnes can not cõceaue his bryghtnes, nor our infirmitie his maieſtie (as the people of Iſrael ſayde to Moiſes, let not the Lorde ſpeake to vs but thou) therfore he communicateth not only his power, rule, honour, and maieſtie to men: but alſo his owne name, callynge them Gods: that by their manhod, they myght conferre with men, as men, and by their name and office, repreſent a dyuine maieſtie as God. Ego dixi dij eſtis, ſayeth he. I ſaye you be Goddes. Agayne, Deus ſtetit in ſinagoga deorum. God ſtode emong the aſſemble of Gods, that is magiſtrates. Thus it pleaſed God to adourne his anoynted with ſo noble a name: that we whiche be of nature rebellious, ſhuld beholde in thẽ not only fleſh and bloud, whiche they haue commõ with vs, but alſo a dyuine and godly maieſtie, which they haue geuen thẽ of God. So that we ſhuld rather fixe our eyes vpon their office, whiche is gods: then

Some be made to rule and ſome to obeye.

Exod. 20.

Deu. 20.

Exod. 22.

Pſal. 81.

Pſal. 28.

vpon

vpon their perſon whiche is mans. If this order were not in nature, al thynges woulde growe to confuſion, while euerye man, as he were of greater power: ſo coulde and woulde oppreſſe ſuche as were of leſſe, (as Theodoret ſaithe) the greate fiſhes eate vp the ſmall, and the weaker beaſtes, be the ſtrongers pray. Therefore, it is not ſaide withoute great cauſe of the apoſtle: that the Magiſtrate is for our good. For he defendeth oure bodies from the murderers, oure goodes from the rauenoure, and oure landes from the oppreſſour. Seing then that God by nature, hath thus placed Magiſtrates in deede to be watchmen to kepe our cities, to preſerue our lande from thenemy abrode, and conſpirator and oppreſſor at home: we ſhuld be to much ingrate: if we ſhulde not loue hym or her, that careth for vs, and to obſtinat if we ſhould not obey them that rule not for their own pleaſure, but for our commoditie. Hereto we be exhorted by many places of ſcripture, wherunto, if we herkē not: we prouoke gods vengaunce to guſh out againſt vs: out of whoſe moſte holye mouth, they come. Let euerye ſoule (ſaithe Paul) obey the higher power, as ordeined of God: for who reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth Gods ordinaunce. In whiche woordes is conteined both a precept and a pain. A precepte, in that he commaundeth all to obey, exceptinge none, neither prieſt nor Monke ſaithe Chriſoſt, which muſte aſwell obey, as the layitie. A pain, in that he vttreth them to be gods rebels and aduerſaries, which do reſiſte the power ordeined of God. For who violateth the ordinaunce: violateth the ordeiner, whiche was

περὶ τῆς προνοίας

Ro. 13.

Ro. 13.

Chryſ. ro. hom. 23

God. But becauſe almoſte none doubte of this, that they muſt obey (onles it be a few diſſolute Anabaptiſtes) and many be ignoraunt, wherin they ſhoulde obey: therfore did Paule him ſelf not omit to teach, that they muſte be obeyed in honor and paimentes. Cui vectigal, vectigal, cui honor, honorem. For it is not inough to paye them their due, as a man payeth his hirelinge, or his miller for grindinge his corne: but he muſte alſo yelde him his due honoure, whyche muſte firſte come from the harte, and then be vttered in outwarde humblenes. The Perſians thoughte ther kinges and rulers to repreſent ſuch a diuine maieſtye: that they fell flat on their faces before theyr ſouereigne. And the ſame we read to be vſed among the kinges of Iury. The like wherof, the hiſtories do reporte of the Turkes, that they haue not onlye as muche honor geuen them as the kings of Perſia had: but alſo who ſo euer ſpeaketh to him, at his goinge from him, neuer turneth his backe vppon hym, but goeth backwarde ſo longe as he is in the ſame place wyth him. Fewe I thincke will allowe thys, yet muſte they learne hereby, that greate honour is due to that eſtate, and thincke it no Idolatrye as ſome men vſe to terme it, either to bare thy head or bowe thy knee to the chiefeſt miniſter of God, yea if thou doeſt it not thou makeſt an idoll of thy ſelfe, whyle thou lifteſt vppe thy baſeneſſe to that heighte, that thou wylte not ſtoupe, where thou oughteſt, nor geue honoure where thou ſhouldeſt. VVhat is els to make an Idoll of thy ſelfe, but to honour thy ſelf, where thou oughteſt not, and pull downe Goddes Maieſty.

Obediēce conſiſteth of .ii. thinges.

Hovv the perſiāns honoured their kinges.

Hovv the Turkes honoure theirking.

To knele to a prince is no Idolatry.

Maieſtye, where thou ſhouldeſt not: Ah we bee all Adams children, yea and the deuels to, if we goe no further: But Adams children, be diſtincte in degres, euen by the ordinaunce of God. As we rede through oute the Bible: and Chriſte in the newe Teſtamente confirmeth it, ſayinge: geue to Ceſar that is his. And the apoſtle: go before one a nother in honoure. So that they may rightlye chalendge it, and we be boũd to yelde it. But this will not be onles we firſte bow at home in oure heartes, and learne to ſtoupe, ſayinge in oure ſelfes. VVhat? thou arte a ſubiecte not called to honoure, Therefore thou muſte not pearche vp, before thou beiſt called: And couldeſt thou, if thou warte in the ſame place ſuffer (if it were not for thine owne ſake, yet for the dignities and office ſake) to be withoute honoure? If we can thus reaſon wyth oure owne proude ſtomackes: we ſhall ſoone leaue of to be Adames children, and become Goddes and the Quenes obedient ſubiectes. The hart (I ſay) muſt be framed and brought into the circle of obediẽce: and then wyll all the reaſte followe. Thy knee ſhall bowe, thy Cap ſhall of, thy tonge ſhall reuerently ſpeake of thy ſoueraign, whẽ and wher thou oughteſt. For lyke as the fountain being clear, or trobled the water that goeth from it, muſt be good or bad: ſo the hearte beynge in order, the reaſte canne not bee out of order. Thy tong muſt be dedicated to God, to ſpeke wel and reuerently of his miniſter, for els as Salomon ſaith: he will make the birdes of the ayre to vtter thy rebellion. Furthermore, it is thy bounde-

Degrees of men.

Mat. 12.

Ro. 12.

Obediẽce ſpryngeth from the hart.

duty

The.2. part of obedyence. Dem.1.o lymth.

duti to geue her, whē ſhe callethfor part of thi goods that as Demoſth. ſaith, by parting with a little: thou maiſt keepe the whole. Is it not better to healpe the mother and miſtres of thy country, with thy goods and body: then by withholding thy hande, and nigging, to make her not hable to kepe out thine ennemy? haddeſt thou rather that thy auncient ennemy, the proud french man, or vntruſty ſcot, ſhould come to ranſake thy coffers, to deflour thy wife, to rauiſh thy daughters, to beat thy childrens brains vpon the walles, to fire thy houſe, to ſpoile thy goodes, driue away thy cattle, enioy thine enheritaunce, cut thine own throte, and bring thy country to naughte: then that the Quenes officer ſhould take the.20. parte of thy poſſeſſiōs, for thy defence? If thou wilt not haue theſe miſchieſes to happen: thou muſt do thy dutye in paying with a franke and free hart, without grutching or groning, ſpecially, ſeing thou gathereſt all that thou haſt, in her peax. Shuldeſt thou that arte a huſbandman follow thy tillage, reape thy corn, and enioy it: if thou wart not defended by her diligence? Shouldeſt thou that arte a graſier kepe thy fat Bullockes and flockes of ſhepe, til they were fatte: if ſhe were not thy ſhephearde? Shouldeſt thou that arte a marchant cary out, and fetch home, to thy exceding gain, thy merchaundiſe: onles ſhe were thine Admirall? Could the Lord or gentlemā enioy his rents, if ſhe defended not the tenauntes? Coulde the biſhops ruffle in their robes, kepe their great houſes, ād haue their thouſands yerely, withal the reſt of ther ſuperfluitie: if ſhe wer not their bulwarke, and tooke care

for

for them, while thei care not for her? And to be ſhort there is none that ſhould enioy his owne: if her protection were not. If thou myſtruſt the myſpendyng of that thou geueſt, and ſhe taketh: thou art to foliſh. For could ſhe that in al her lyfe, hath liued vpon her owne, ſo humbly without pride, ſo moderately without prodigalitie, ſo maydenly without pompe: now find in her heart, in vnneceſſary charges to laſhe out thine? VVilt thou haue a taſt, how prodigal or pompous ſhe is? I pray the then marke theſe two poynts which I know to be true (although in that Sexe they be ſtraunge) vii. yeres after her fathers death, ſhe had ſo proud a ſtomake, and ſo much delighted in gliſteryng gaſes of the world, in gay apparell, riche attyre and precious iewels: that in all that tyme, ſhe neuer loked vpon thoſe that her father left her but ones, ād that agaynſt her wyll. And after ſo gloried in them: that there came neuer gold nor ſtone vpon her head, tyl her ſiſter enforced her, to lay of her former ſobrenes, and bear her company in her gliſteryng gaynes. Yea, and than ſhe ſo ware it, as euery man myght ſe, that her bodie caried that, which her heart miſliked. I am ſure, that her maidenly apparel, which ſhe vſed in Kyng Edwardes tyme, made the noble mēs daughters and wyues, to be aſhamed, to be dreſt and paynted lyke pecockes, being more moued with hir moſt vertuous example: then with all that euer Paule and Peter wrote, touchyng that matter. Yea this I know that a great mans daughter, receaiuinge from Ladye Marie before ſhe was Quene, goodly apparel of tynſyll, cloth of golde, and veluet, layd on with parche-

The queenes ſobrietie in aparel.

The pōpe of engliſh ladies abated by the quenes example.

chement lace of gold: when she sawe it, sayde, what shal I doo with it? mary saide a gentle woman weare it. Nay quod she, that were a shame to followe my lady Mary against Gods woorde, and leaue my lady Elyzabeth, whiche foloweth Gods woorde. See that good example, is ofte tymes muche better, then a great deale of preachinge. And this all men knowe, that whē al the ladies hent vp thattire of the Scottish skyttes, at the commyng in of the Scottishe Quene, to go vnbrydled, and with their heares frownsed and curled and double curled: she altered nothinge, but to the shame of them all, kepte hir olde maydenly shamefastnesse. &c. An other thyng to declare, how lytle she setteth by this worldlye pompe, is this. That in all hir tyme, she neuer medled with monye but agaynst hir wyll, but semed to set so lytle by it: that she thought, to touche it, was to defile hir pure handes consecrated to turne ouer good bookes, to lyfte vp vnto God in prayer, and to deale almes to the pore. Are not these argumentes sufficient to make the thynke of hir: that she wyll neyther call to the before she hath nede, nor mispend it vaynely afafter she hath it? VVherfore if thou beareſt the hart of a christian: thou wylt ministre to christes lieutenaunt willinglye, and gladly. If thou hast the mynde of a trewe subiect: thou wylt not see thy souereigne lacke. If thou haste the forcaste of a wyse man, thou wylt be content with a lytle, to purchase safetie of the whole. If thou hast the stomack of a good englishman, thou wylt with body and goodes, keepe out the forren ennemy, whiche would be glad, through thy disobedience,

A yonge ladies answere.

An exhortacion to liberalitie.

diſobedience, to ſalute thee at thy gate: wherfore be not couetous, where thou ſhouldeſt be lyberall, nor vnkynde, where thou ſhouldeſt be thanckfull, nor waywarde, where thou ſhouldeſt be forwarde. Take to thee, the ſtomacke of a free palfraye, and not the froward touches of a reſtie iade. It is the propertie of thone, ſaieth Seneca, to goo forwarde luſtelye with the Shadowe of a wande, and of the other, to renne backwarde, putt you neuer ſo muche the ſpurres to hym. Nowe by cauſe our nature is ſo dull, that it can not be ſtirred vp withoute ſome hope of benefytte: Therfore I wyll briefly ſhewe what good hope there is, by all lykelyhode, of this godly gouerneſſe. And to the intent, I myght appeare to ſaye of hir for conſcience ſake, what I thinke and knowe, withoute ſuſpicion of flatterie, or hope of benefyt: Therefore I haue ſuppreſſed my name: that my penne might be the freer. VVherfor if thou thīkeſt that either I ſpeake more then I thynke, or do that I do for any hope of benefite: thou doeſt me wrong in miſiudging: and hir great iniury in not beleuing. If I ſhould reherſe al thynges which myght put vs in hope of hir good, godly, and vertuous reigne: I ſhoulde peruſe hir wholle lyfe paſte: But that were to longe and rather perteyneth to the Storie to be wrytten of hir, then to this argumēt, wherfore I wil only touch one or .2. things to giue goodmē good occaſiō, to geſſe at the reſt. It is knowē to al mē howe vertuoſly and virginlyke ſhe hath bene brought vp what wiſe, honeſt, diſcrete, ſober, and godly women ſhe hath had about hir, how

Li. de mori

The quenes bringing vp.

her, howe ſhe hath bene trained in learning, and that not vulgare and common, but the pureſt and the beſt which is moſt cõmended at theſe dais, as the tonges, artes, and gods word, wherin ſhe ſo excedingly profited, as I my ſelfe can wytnes, that .vii. year paſt, ſhe was not in the beſt kind of learning inferior to thoſe that al theyr lyfe tyme had ben brought vp in the vniuerſities, and were counted iolly felowes. So that it is lyke, that nowe, ſhe is not meanlye inſtructed and armed with good letters. If then learnyng and the cõuerſation with ſuch as be wyſe and honeſt, faſhioneth and frameth the mynde (as Plato ſayth) and maketh it tractable as waxe, to prynt in good images of vertues and modeſt maners: And commonly, wel tilled land bryngeth forth good frutes: we muſt nedes conceiue great hope, yea in a manner be aſſured: that as ſhe hath paſſed many of our kynges, and al our Quenes in theſe good ſtudies and Sciences: ſo ſhe muſt nedes exceede them in the reſt of her lyfe and gouernment. And that you may vnderſtand that there hath not bene, nor is in her, learnyng without nature, and knowledge without towardnes, to practiſe: I wyl tel you, what I haue credebly hearde, and aſſuredly beleue of her. For I woulde wyſhe of God, that all men knew by her aſmuch as I do: that thei might cõceiue of her the ſame opinion that I haue.

The Quenes ſchole maiſters anſvver.

Her firſt ſcholemaſter with whome I was familiar, a mã very honeſt and learned, emongſt other talke, which we had of her (for I was curious in queſtionīg and he gentle in anſweringe) tolde me once, that he learned eueri day more of her, then ſhe of him. It ſe-

med

med to me a miſtery, as in dede it was, but becauſe he wold not kepe me in doubt, he thus expounded it. I teach her wordes (quod he) and ſhe me things. I teache her the tongues to ſpeake: and her modeſt and maidenly life, teacheth me workes to do. For (ſaith he) I think ſhe is the beſt inclined and diſpoſed of any in all Europe. It ſemed to me a goodly commendacion of her, and a witty ſaying of him, and therfor not to be forgotten: In like maner, an Italian, which taught her his tonge (thoughe that nacion lightlye praiſe not out of their own country) ſaid once to me that he founde in her. ii. qualities, whiche are neuer lightly yock fellowes in one woman, whiche were a ſinguler witte, and a meruelous meeke ſtomacke, I would haue thoughte that theſe men had thus commended her, becauſe ſhe was their miſtreſſe: but by certaine knowledge other waies I vnderſtode: that it was true, and that they might haue ſaid much more, and not haue lied. This diſpoſitiō and godly towardnes being in her then, can not now be but muche encreaſed by continuaunce of ſtudy, hauing about her ſuch as feare God, increaſing in yeares, and taught bi affliction, which as (Dauid ſaith) bringeth vnderſtāding, and in a nother place. Bonum mihi domine quod humiliaſti me It is my great profite Lorde that thou haſt brought me lowe, for hereby I haue learned thy law, and of this I think no Engliſh man is ignorant: that her affliction hath ben far aboue the condiciō of a kings daughter. For there was no more behind, to make a very Iphigenia of her, but her offring vp, vpon the altare of the Scaffolde. How ſhe behaued her

An Italiās ſayinge of the Quene

Pſal. 104.

The Quenes aduerſitie.

ſelfe in thoſe ſtormes and tempeſtes, let them wytneſſe, who beyng hir aduerſaries: hadde the muynge of her. I wyll ſaye nothynge, though I coulde ſaye muche: But this I ſee, and therefore muſte ſaye, that than ſhe muſte nedes be in hir affliction maruelous pacient: whiche ſheweth hir ſelfe now in this proſperitie to be vtterly without deſyre of reuenge: or els ſhe would haue geuen ſome token or this daye of remembraunce, howe ſhe was handled. It was no ſmal iniurie that ſhe ſuffered in the protectors dayes, whē certen venymous vipers ſpued oute their poyſon againſt hir to dymyniſhe hir honour: But God hir father and defender, made hir ſo muche the more to enter in to the hartes of good people: howe muche the earneſtlyer they wente aboute to harme hir. VVas it no wrong thinke you that ſhe ſuſteyned of late dayes, to be firſt a pryſoner in her owne houſe, and garded with a ſorte of cutthrotes whiche euer gaped for the ſpoyle of hir houſe, that they myght haue bene fyngeryng ofſumwhat? Then with great ſolempniti, with bandes of harneſſed hangemē (happie was he that might haue the caryng of hir) to be fetched vp, as the greateſt traytour in the worlde, hoiſted into the tower, there kept not lyke a kynges doughter and a Quenes ſiſter: but as one that hadde comē out of Turkey to betraye Englande. VVhat aſſemblies and counſelles? VVhat examinacions and rackynges, of poore men was there, to fynde out the knyfe that ſhoulde cutte hir throte? what gaping amonge

The Quenes affliction in the protectors daies.

The Quene cō mitted to the Tour.

among my Lordes of the clargie, to ſee the daye wherein they myght waſhe their goodly whyte ratchettes in her innocent bloude? thinckinge that then none ſhoulde be ſpared, for they ſawe the bloude of the father waſh of the Scaffold, the daughters bloud, the huſbandes, the wifes, the yonger brothers, the elders, and ſo one after an other, tyll the hangemanne was wearye. VVhen they ſawe that ſo much woode was ſpente in Smithfielde about holy Martirs ſacrificed to the God in the boxe: that poore folckes for lacke died for colde in London: when they ſawe the ſtreates of London ſo decked and adourned wyth Gallowes, and behanged with gentlemens carcaſes: that my L. of London coulde not haue place to goo a proceſſion: when they ſawe all theſe notable tragedies wherein no reſpecte was hadde, neither of ſexe nor kynred, neither of age nor innocency, neither of noble nor vnnoble: had not theſe ratchetters good cauſe to hope: that this bleſſed woman ſhoulde haue followed, and ſo they haue bene out of feare of thys daye, whiche is come vppon them?

VVhat mente thoſe charitable Churchemenne thincke you towardes her? whan they coulde not bee contente, to ſuffer Sir Thomas VViat vpon the ſcaffolde (euen at the houre of his deathe, betwixte the axe and the block, when it is like men wil not lie) to diſcharge her, of that was laid againſt her, and vnburden hys owne conſcience of that, he thoughte at that time hee ſtoode giltie in, for hurtynge her

to ſaue

to ſaue himſelfe, when he teſtified to the people that ſhe was cleare: Cried not weſton, beleue him not, beleue him not? For the racke hath wrounge out other maner of matter. Oh tyrãnes, and rake helles. VVas he rather to be beleued vpon your cruel racke, than nowe, vpon the ſcaffolde, when he feared the tearyng of his fleſhe, then when he myght loke for helles tormentes? whan it ſtode vpon the loſſe of hys carcaſſe, than whan he muſt daunger his ſoule? Dyd you not here, vtter your miſcheuous mindes, and meanings, that you cared not, though he went to the deuyll, ſo you myght haue bene ryd of her. Theſe be the comfortable gooſtly fathers, which muſt be at a mans elbowe, when he is redy to dye. VVhoſe regard of the Soule is ſuche: as thei muſt nedes haue their ghoſtly chyld, euen with the laſt breath, laſh out moſt ſhamefull lyes, to maintaine their malice, & murder. Theſe fellowes cã vſe Confeſſion to ſerue their tourne, for the deſtructiõ of ſuch, as they would haue out of the way. If their Cõfeſſion ſerued not to ſuch purpoſes, I warrant you, thei would not ſet a blewe point by it. Thus had ſhe the whole worlde agaynſt her, with all the ſpyte and malyce that could be deuiſed: And yet ſhe is ſo far offrõ ſekyng reueng: that I am ſurely perſwaded, that ſhe prayeth for thẽ. Are not theſe great tokens thou good ſubiect, of much mercy to follow? Marke her comming in, and compare it with others She commeth in lyke a lambe, and not lyke a Lyon, lyke a mother, and not lyke a ſtepdam. She ruſheth not in at the fyrſt chop, to violate and breake former lawes, to ſtirre her people to chaunge what they liſt, before-

before order be taken by lawe. She hangeth no man, ſhe behedeth none. She burneth none, ſpoileth none. I wiſſe if my L. Cardinal had known her clemẽcy: he would not haue made ſo much haſt in dying ſo ſone to follow his miſtres, and to be out of the daunger of this. I like my L. of London better: for thoughe he haue deſerued a great deale more: yet he neither renneth away, nor hangeth him ſelfe, nor nothinge, but truſteth to find grace, which neuer deſerued any. But you wil ſay that this Quene hath no ſuch aduantage againſt men, as thother had, and therfore is merciful whether ſhe wil or no: you ſay wel but not al, is ther no aduauntage to be taken, thinke you? I wil not affirme, becauſe I am no lawyer. But I wil axe thys for my learning of the lawyers, whether it be a faulte by ſtatute to take away the title or any part of it which belongeth to the king or Quenes ſtile? as to take frõ it by no order of law, but by priuate authoritie, thys part ſupreame head of the church of England. If it be a faulte, of what force were the writtes, whereby the Parliament was called, that tooke awaye the ſupremacie, if the writtes for lacke of wordes of form, wer not good in the law: by what authoritie did that parliament repeale, K. H. and K. E. lawes or make anye newe? by what authoritie, if they were not ſufficiently called, receiued they the biſhop of Rome? And after by his authoritie, broiled, and murdred ſo many martirs? Surely if the firſt were vnlawful, the laſte can haue no warraunte, if the lawyers finde this to be ſo: hath then the Quene none aduauntage againſte men thincke you? if it be ſo: then muſt you confeſſe, that

My L. of London vvíſer thẽ the Cardinall.

there is a meruelous mercy and no rigour, an exceding pacience, and no desire of reueng in her. If it be not so: yet might she synde good quarels els to deale more hardly with som then she doth. In Quene Maries first daies the bisshoppes that were maryed were thruste out of the parliament house before any lawe, and all maryed deanes and archedeacons oute of the conuocation, many putte out of their lyuinges and other restored withoute force of lawe. If that were lawfull for hir: why is it not lawful for this? Yea some noble men and Gentlemen were depryued of those landes whiche the kynge had genen them withoute tarying for any lawe:: lest my Lord of VVincheſter, should haue lost his quarters rent. Many churches were chaunged, many altares set vp, many masses sayde, many dredges sunge, before the lawe was repealed, all was done in post haste. Some for feare peraduenture that they shoulde not els haue hadde the blessed masse, whole fyue yeares in the worship of the fyue Gaudees of the blessed virgin Mary. Nowe we see that thinges be doone with more aduisement and lesse haste, although there be a better warraunte for this then for that. For she knoweth that to bee trewe whiche Seneca sayeth, Velox consilium sequitur penitentia. But the deuil is a diligent felowe, he bestirreth him in his matters, for he euer mistrusteth he shuld come to late. Contrariwyse God is longanimus of great pacience, and maketh his to be the lyke, rather to loke for amendement: then by and by to seke destruction and reuenge. VVherfore she being gods chosen instrumēt to represent here amōg vs his maiestie:

Rom. 2.

ieſtie: walketh wiſely in the ſteps of him that hath cal led hir, and ſtudieth diligently to repreſent a lyuely image in hir mortalite of his incomparable and infinite maieſtie, by vſing correction without ſeueritie, by ſekyng the loſte with clemẽcie, by gouerning wiſely without fury, with weying and iudging without raſhenes, with purging il rumors with deliberacion, and to conclude, in doing hir dutie without affectiõ. Beſides furth it is not the leſt tokẽ of all to perſwade vs of hir happy and godly procedinges, that ſhe piketh out ſome ſuch coũſelors to ſerue hir (and I truſt will do more) as be neither of common wytte nor cõmon experiẽce, of whom ſome by trauaile in ſtraũge countreis, ſom by learning, ſome by practiſe and lyke authoritie in other rulers daies, ſome by afflictiõ either one waye or other: for their giſtes and graces whiche they haue receiued at Gods hande, bee men mete to be called to ſuche roumes. And if any man thinkes there be inter azimos fermentum let them leaue that to God and tyme, and deſcant not to farre of it. Herein ſhe well putteth in practiſe that is counſelled by Eccleſiaſticus, ſaying conſiliarius ſit tibi vnus de mille. Eccl. 6. Culle out of a thouſand a coũſellour, for it is no matter of ſmall waight to chuſe counſellors as it aperith by the counſell and ſucceſſe of Roboam whiche was of two ſortes. Thaunciẽt men & Senators gaue him coũſel & aduiſe to kepe the people in order by loue, gentlenes, and clemẽcy, thother aduiſed hym not to ſpare but to lay about him to chop of their heades, to towre thẽ, hãge thẽ, burne thẽ, awai with them, dead mẽ do no harme, and to make his litle finger heauier 1. Reg 12.

his people thē was his fathers bódy. Theſe ware luſty laddes theſe were ſuche: as would wyne all our loſe all. But they founde at the laſt as other that haue folowed them very Hieroboamites as wriſſles, VVyn cheſters and ſome other their ſcholers yet aliue, that as Horatius ſaieth vis conſilij expers, mole ruit ſua. fearſnes without wiſdome, and counſel, cummeth to a foliſhe ende. I doubt not but hir maieſtie if ſhe could, woulde chuſe hir counſell of the nobilyte, ſhe being her ſelfe the head of that order and patroneſſe: but if ſhe ſhal eſpie out meaner men of greater experience, farther reache, and more ſcyence, then they be: it is not to be feared, but the nobles both for their owne ſafetie, and the Quenes, would gladly lotte to them ſelfes (though ſhe woulde not require it) ſuche as myght put them in mynde of thynges they remember not, either becauſe they haue not exerciſed and beaten their heads about it: or by lookyng to, their lordſhips haue not had leiſure to ſtuddy for pollicies. But wiſe men by ſtudy and noble men by birth, wyll make ſuche an harmony in the commō wealth: as neyther Frenche nor Scotte, ſhalbe hable to interrupte the concorde: and it to be hoped that neyther the one parte in reſpect of their nobilitie, wyll contempne the other for their baſenes nor enuie thē for their wiſdom: nor thother part through thadmiracion of their own giftes, ſet light by the honour & aūciētnes of the peres. Learne a ſimilitude ſaith Paul of the body of mā, how eche mēber is not the head, & yet hath his neceſſary vſe in the bodye, wherefore if

Horat. in odis.

1. Cor. 12.

ſome be

ſome be wiſer, and ſome nobler, ſom richer, and ſom porer: I doubt not but like good mariners they will all conſider, that they muſt all trauaile to bringe the ſhip of the common welth, the Church of Chriſte, and the Quenes realm, to a quiet port, which wil not be: if they ſtriue, who ſhall tend the ſail, and who the helm, who ſhall ſounde, and who clenſe the Pumpe, who ſhal do this, and who ſhal do that. Ioſephe with King Pharao kept by his counſel al the kings people from ſtaruinge, a meane man and a ſtraunger, pulled out of Priſon, wher he lay for a great crime. And Daniell gouerned Chaldea better then all the Princes ther, and his ſeruice was more acceptable to the king then all the reſt: Mardocheus by the help of Heſter, kept Aſſuerus from the fouleſt murdre, that euer was deuiſed. And yet he was but a meane man to be of a kinges counſell, being not only e a ſtraunger, but alſo ſuche an abiecte, as ſatte at the kinges gate without office, dignitie, countenaunce, or anye eſtimacion, yea and of ſuche a ſtomacke, as he woulde not ſtoupe to the proudeſt of all the reaſte. M. Haman, who was, domine fac totum, Vvhiche had like to haue coſt him the beſt ioynte he caried aboute. VVherefore if meane men be called to that honoure: lette no manne repine at it. For ſometime vnder a homelye coate, lieth hidden muche treaſure, and pure golde is founde among muche droſſe. A wiſe man ſaithe Salomon climeth vp into the cities, of the ſtronge and mightye, and deſtroieth all the ſtrengthe that he truſteth to: if I had but. 10. Neſtors, ſaid Agamenon Troy could not ſtand longe. Conſideringe then that

Gen. 41.

Heſter. 8.

Pro. 21.

aſwell in the choiſe of counſelloures as in all other thynges oure mooſte deare ſoueraigne taketh that waye: as all godlye wiſe men muſte needes accompte the beſt: and geueth vs by theſe buddes and floures, ſo greate hoope of ſingulare frute: we maye if we bee nor ſtoones in ſence, and monſters in malice, cheare and feede our ſelues with the good ſucceſſe, we hope to haue by her. One thinge there is that maketh my harte to blede in my belly for her: That when al her progenitoures commonly haue founde their realm in quiet: She good Lady receiueth it at the hande of her ſiſter intangled (I will not ſaye oppreſſed) wyth forren warres, the french on thone ſide, and the ſcots on thother, which ſucking oute of their auncettors, poiſoned breaſts, immortal and dedly hatred againſt this realme, lie in waite like theues, to inuade and to ſpoil it. In token wherof the french freke, as it is ſaid after truce was taken: VVhē he hard of. Q. M. death kept ſtil his Germains about him, vpon hope that if there had ben any ſtir in England, he might haue ſet in a fote. And for that purpoſe, had willed the cardinal of lotharing, to confer with our churchmen, to ſe what mighte be done, whether he did ſo or no God knoweth: but it is certain that the cardnall had ſuche commiſſion: but God hath diſpatched their deuiſes. And beſides that ſhe is thus leſte: who ſeeth not the realme not Philipped, but fleſed for Philips ſake, by mainteining all the laſt ſommer, ſuch a nauy on the ſeas, and an army on the land, beſides ſom tokens of loue that paſſed (I am ſure) from the Quene to her ſpouſe, to ſhew that ſhe was a louing wife: Alas what

remea-

remeadye? it is a miſerable caſe: but this will be the help, firſt to flee to God, and ſay on euery ſide. In do. Pſal. 10.
mino confido, quomodo dicitis animæ mæ tranſmigra in montem ſicut paſſer. Our truſt is in God, thoughe the French and ſcots, and the deuil himſelfe had conſpired againſt our ſouerein, whiche is anima noſtra, oure life and cõfort. Shal not we with God and pollicy, be habie to do aſmuch for the preſeruation of our coũtry, as Philip of Macedonie did with pollicy alone? who comming to his kingdom in as il caſe ãd worſe, then this vertuous Lady doth to hers, hauing the Illyrians, the Pænyans, the Theſſalonyans, the Boetians and the Atheniens, in his neck: ſo vſed the matter by making peax with ſome, by leaguinge with other, and by war with the reſt, one after another, that within. iii. yeres ſpace, he gatte again that his ancettors had loſt, and made al his enemies to ſtoupe, and not long after became themperor of al Grece. In like maner Dauid entred into his kingdõ, when the Philiſtins had made a meruelus ſlaughter in Iſrael, and killed king Saul ãd his ſõnes in the field, ãd yet with in a while, he recouered the loſſes, ãd had the better of al his enemies round about him: So I doubt not, but God ſhal ſend this Iudith grace and power, to cut of Holophernes hed, and this Deborah to ſaue her people, ãd knock out Siceras brains, com he either out of fraunce, or out of ſcotlãd. But ſo much the ſoner: if al men like true ſubiectes, put to their helping hande, knowinge that it is theyr quarrell aſwell as hers. Gemiſtus. Princes of il beginninges, oft mak good endinges. 2. Samu. 3.

Come of you biſhoppes, away with your ſuperfluities, yeld vp your thouſands, be contẽt with hũdreds as they Aduiſe to the biſhops.

as they be in other reformed Churches, where be as greate learned men as you are. Let your portion be prieſtlike and not princelike. Let the Quene haue the reſt of your temporalties and other lāds to maintain theſe warres which you procured, and your miſtreſſe left her, and with the reſt to builde and founde ſcholes thorow oute the realme: that euerye pariſhe church may haue his preacher, euery City his ſuperintendent to liue honeſtly and not pompouſly, whiche wil neuer be, onles your landes be diſperſed and beſtowed vpon many, which now feadeth and fatteth but one. Remember that Abimeleck, when Dauid in his baniſhimēt wold haue dined with him, kept ſuch hoſpitaliti: that he had no bread in his houſe to geue him, but the Shew bred. wher was all his ſuperfluity to keepe your pretenſed hoſpitalitie? for that is the cauſe that you alledge, why you muſt haue thouſāds as though you were commaunded to kepe hoſpitalitie, rather with a thouſande, then with a hundreth: I would our country man VViclieſes boke whych he wrote de eccleſia, were in print, and there ſhoulde you ſee that your wrinches and cauillations, be nothing worthe. It was my chaunce to happen of it in ones hand that brought it out of Bohemia. Lay to youre handes, you noble men, and rather ſel a pece of your enheritance to help the Quene, then by a little backwardnes to ventre all, and to ſe a proud French man, your heir, or a Scot, the ſteward of your landes, learn you of thaunciēt ſenators of Rome, and let your wiues, take example by theirs, to ſette more by youre Prince, then your pomp, by your country, then by your

Biſhoppes landes.

1. Sam. 21

Aduiſe to the noble men.

your curioſitie and vnſitting ſuperfluitie in apparel, dyet, and other vnneceſſaries. Theſe Romaines of whome I ſpeake being ſtreſſed and almoſte brought to the laſt caſt, by the long and daungerous warres of Hanibal, and the Frenche, did not only lyke louing fathers to their countrey, bring in their mony and goodes, without hinching or pinching, to relieſe the charges of their cõmon welth: But alſo partly by honeſt perſwaſiõ, and partly by their good exãple, prouoked the noble matrones their wiues, to bringe in their ouches, ringes, chaines, bracelettes, and other iewelles, to be beſtowed in the neceſſary defenſe of their countrey. Oh you Engliſhe ladies, learne here rather to weare Romain hartes, then Spaniſh knaks, rather to helpe youre countrey, then hinder youre huſbãdes, to make your quene ryche for your defẽſe then your huſbandes poore for your gariſh gaineſſe. Ifeuery one of you would but imploy your ringes and chaines, or the price of your ſuperfluous ruffes, furres, fringes, and ſuche other trinkettes, vpon the neceſſary defẽce of your coũtrey: I thinke you ſhuld make the quene much richer, & habler to mete with your enemies, and your ſelfes much the honeſter, & reddier to withſtande Satan whiche this waye goeth about to ſift you. leaue of your pride & leaue a good example as the Romain ladies did to your poſterite, of loue to your countrey, loyaltie to your quene, & honeſtie towardes God and man. Be liberal you Gẽtlemẽ & thinke it not inough to ſerue the quene with your bodies, but helpe alſo with your goodes. Suffer not the Gentlemẽ of Fraunce to make you their

Liui. 3 de.

Aduiſe to the ladies.

To the Gentlemẽ

ſlaues. Some of you knowe what natured men they be, beware that the reſt feele not. It wilbe a ſhame and to great a vilanie for you, which in al ages haue bene hable to holde their noſe to the grindſtone, nowe either for ſparing of your goodes, which is niggardie, or feare of your liues, which is cowardiſe, to be their pezantes, whoſe lordes your Auncettors were. Loke to this geare you Lawyers, whiche for a lyttle ſpending of your breath in chatering in the Chancery, and common place: become the Lordes of your cũtreis, and leaue your ſonnes ſo great liuelodes as thei be noble mens matches. Some in ſport cal you drudges and not iudges, but I thinke in god earneſt that it is contrary that you make you and your lordes and al other drudges. In this your ſo gret gain forget not what you owe to your prince, by whoſe protection you haue had leaſure to ſtudy, & now time to plead. If your countrie be not kept in peax, your law wilbe litle worth, neither your copes nor coifes wil ſerue to any vſe. I would you could al finde in your hartes to be as liberal toward your prince as ſome of you haue bene of late to the orders of Friers. Be no niggardes you marchaũtes of your gaines to releue the quene, for if you be: the vengeaunce of God wil come vppõ your hurdes and bãkes, the tratling Scot ſhal knocke out your cheſtes botoms, ſhal enioy your machaundize, meete out your veluets and ſilkes, carry awaye your clothes, brenne your fayre houſes, and rule in your citie of London, which the lord forbyd: In like maner you Farmers and Franklins, you yomen and riche Cobbes, abroad with your ruſty ryals & your oldi

To the marchaũts

Iacob. 5.

old Angels, which you hourd vp: for the ruſte of thē ſhalbe to your condēpnaciō, becauſe you couetouſly kepe Gods creatures frō their true vſe, wherfore thei were made. They are called curraūt & not ſlepaunt. Helpe your coūtrey with thē, let the quene haue part of thē, that you may peaceably enioy the reſt. wherfore hourd you them vp, and for whome? Theſaurizas neſciēs cui cōgregas. I am ſure your meaning is thereby to leaue your ſonnes and heires, lādes and poſſeſſiōs, paſtures wel ſtored, houſes wel furniſhed, and honeſt ſoms of money to marry your doughters. But if thou beſt not liberal towardes the defence of thy coūtry: who ſhal be thine heire? The pocky frenche man and the ſcoruy Scot: thyne olde gold ſhalbe caried away into Fraūce, thy ſonne and thou ſhalt be made gally ſlaues. And where thou thinkeſt to marry thy daughter richely e: thou ſhalt ſee both hir and hir mother defiled before thy face miſerably. Thy ſōnes enheritaūce ſhalbe chaines in the gally, wherwith he ſhalbe fettered, a whippe vpon his bare ſkinne, if he row not to the death, and an horſe lofe and water for his dayly dyet. Oh thynke vppon this, thynke vppon it, you hourders and hyders of Gods creatures. Lette not that mucke of the molde, thoſe ruſtye Royalles be dearer to you, then your countrey, your Quene, your wyfe, and children, your owne bodies and lyues. VVhat a ſpyte were it, that you ſhoulde be the Treaſurers of your mortall foes, that you ſhoulde keepe for them to carry awaye, and hyde from your Quene to enryche the robber. And you huſbande men whiche haue Gods plenty, aboundaunce of his bleſſinges. Pſal. 38.

To the huſbandmen.

bleſſinges. Sticke not to helpe your natural cuntrey ſo muche as you can. God is beneficiall vnto you, be not vnthankfull to his chefe miniſter. For like as the ſpringes and brookes renne into the ſea: ſo muſt all mens trauail tourne to the defence of his coũtrey. If the ſpringes ſhould withholde their water: at the laſt the ſea ſhuld lacke So if euery one of you hold back your hãd: what ſhal become of your coũtrey & next of your ſelues? The Philoſophers ſay that the ſonne draweth vp the moiſtnes of the water in the ſea, and therof maketh the cloudes whiche after according to the wil of God, be caried ouer al the face of the earth to water it, & of that water, which cõmeth frõ the cloudes, riſeth the ſpringes and ryuers, ſo that neither the ſea can be without the ſpringes, nor the ſprings without the cloudes, nor the cloudes without the ſea. Lo what a mutuall contributiõ here is in helping one an other. In like maner if you yelde not to the defẽce of your coũtrie, parte of your frutes: it ſhalbe ouerrũne for lacke of helpe with your enemies, and what ſhall then become of you? If you yelde liberallie to your head, ſhe ſhalbe hable by Gods grace to defend you with her ſouldiars, ſo that you may eare in hope, ſow in ſuertie, reape with ioye, and eate with plẽty. Is not this ſea of yours, your countey and quene, by many meanes ſucked drie thynke you? Is it a Small charge to maynteyne a nomber of ſhyppes againſt the Frẽche that they haue no leaſure to lande in Englande, and inuade you? To maynteyne an armie in the borders, to keepe the countrey from burnynge and ſpoylynge? VVhat ſaye you to the buyldynge of

block houſes

block houſes by the ſeas ſide, the prouiſiō of harnes, gunnes, and weapons for the warre, to the kepinge about her, a great coūſel of wiſemē to debate for your welth and ſafegard, to the ſendinge embaſſadors hyther and thither, with a thouſand more charges whiche wer to long to recken: From whence muſt thys come? but from the frutes of the earth, which by quietnes you gather: and without her defence you muſt loſe. Oh you count it a great matter, to geue. 3. or. 4 ſhillings in the pound. Oh England, England, thou knoweſt not thine own welth: becauſe thou ſeeſt not other countries penury. Oh if thou ſaweſt the pezantes of Fraunce, howe they are ſcraped to the bones, ād what extremities they ſuffer: thou woldeſt think thy ſelf bleſſed (as in dede thou art) whiche haſte rather fathers and mothers to thy gouernoures, then Kinges or Quenes. The huſbandman in Fraunce, al that he hath gotten in his whole life, louſeth it vpon one day. For when ſo euer they haue warre (as they are neuer without it) the kings ſouldiers enter into the poore mans houſe, eateth and drinketh vp al that euer he hath, geueth their horſe his corn, ſo longe as it laſteth, without paying a farthinge, and neuer departeth ſo long as there is any thing left in the hous. This was the maner: but this king hathe amended it with the wurſe, for his ſouldiours come not thither, but his rakehels thofficers, which pare them euen to the bones, the pore man neuer goeth to the market, to ſel any thing: but he paieth a tolle, almoſt the half of that he ſelleth: he eateth neither pigge, goſe, capō, nor hen: but he muſt pay as much for the tribute of it there,

Hovv the frenchpe' zantes bee handled.

it there, as it might be bought for here: h. Ovnhappy and miſerable men that liue vnder this yocke. In Italy they ſay it is not much better, the huſbandmen be there ſo rich: that the beſt coate he weareth is ſacking, his nether ſtockes of his hoſe, be his own ſkin, his diet and fare not very coſtly, for he commeth to the market with a henne or two in one hande, and a doſen egges in a nette in the other, whiche beynge ſolde and tolde, he bieth and carrieth home vvyth him, no Bieſe or Mutton, Veale or ſea fiſhe, as you do: but a quarte of oyle to make ſallettes of hearbes, wherewith he liueth all the weke followinge. And in Germanie thoughe they be in ſome better caſe then thother: yet eat thei more rotes then fleſh. For what cheare ſo euer they haue beſide, they are ſure of rotes and ſtinckinge hearbes, whiche they call crowte. Thus theſe men liue and thinke them ſelues happy: if thei may haue inough of this. Now compare them with thee: and thou ſhalt ſee howe happye thou arte. They eat hearbes: and thou Beefe and Mutton. Thei rotes: and thou butter, cheſe, and egges. Thei drinck commonly water: and thou good ale and beare. Thei go from the market with a ſallet: ād thou with good fleſhe fill thy wallet. They lightlye neuer ſee anye ſea fiſh: and thou haſt thy belly full of it. They paye till their bones rattle in their ſkin: and thou layeſt vp for thy ſonne and heir. Thou art twiſe or thriſe in thy life time called vppon to healpe thy Countrye, with a ſubſidie or contribution: and they daily pay and neuer ceaſe. Thou liueſt like a Lorde, and they like dogges. God defende vs from the feling of their miſery:

The huſbandmās ſtate in Italie.

The countri men in Germani.

A comparing of the Engliſh mā vvith other coūtry men.

misery. I am a fraid our grutching and groning, will make vs to taste of this whip, as it must nedes come to passe, if thy heade haue not wherewith to defende the: these wil be the frutes of thy disobedience VVe liue in paradise. England is the paradise and not Italy, as commonlye they call it. For they haue figges, Orenges, Pomgranates, Grapes, Pepons, Oyle, and herbes: and we haue Shepe, Oxen, Kie, Calues, Cōnies, Fish, woll, Leade, Clothe, Tinne, Leather, and infinite treasures more, which they lacke. VVe haue plenty of all thinges: and they scarcesitie of all thinges. Oh if thou knewest thou Englishe man in what welth thou liuest, and in how plentifull a Countrye: Thou wouldest. vii. times of the day fall flat on thy face before God, and geue him thāks, that thou wart born an English man, and not a french pezant, nor an Italyan, nor Almane. If thou beiste not thanckfull to God, and liberall to thy Quene and Country: the poore pezante of Fraunce, shall enioye thy wealthe: and seele howe happye thou arte, and thou shalt taste of his miserye to knowe howe vnhappye he is. The Frenche shall teache thee to eate rotes and Acornes: seinge thou canste not fynde in thy harte to doe thy dutie, to them that mainetaine thys thy vvealthe, Thou muste learne to drincke water, if thou comest vnder his yocke, and spare thy Barly and Oates, for his greate horses. The Scottes in spite of vs, haue made him their heade: but they shall tell me or it be long, how wisely they haue dealte, hauer cakes will be good manchet with thē within a while. God that defended his children of Israel from the Amalechits

The frutes of England and Italy.

VVhat vvill folowe oure grutching.

The folye of the Scottes.

Iosua.

the:

the Paleſtines, the Iebuſites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, and all the reſt of their enemies defend vs from the ſlauery and miſery of that proude nacyon, that cruel people, and tirannous rulers. Furthermor for the ſauegard of your country, if you be called to the warres, grutche not nor grone not at it: go with good willes and luſty courages, rather to mete them in the field, thē to tarry til they come home to you, and hang you at your own gates. Play not the milk ſoppes in making curtſy, who ſhal go firſt: but ſhew your ſelues true Engliſhe men in readines, courage, and boldnes: and be aſhamed to be the laſt, feare neither french, nor Scot. For firſt you haue God, and al his army of angels on your ſide: you haue right and trouth, and ſeeke not to do them wronge, but to defend your own right. Think not that God wil ſuffer you to be foyled at their handes, for your fall is hys diſhonour, if you loſe the victory: he muſt loſe the glory. For you fight not only in the quarel of your country: but alſo and chiefly e in the defence of hys true religion, and of his deare ſonne Chriſte, not againſt men of the ſame religion, whiche might make theuent doubtfull, but againſte his ennemies, Antechriſtes frendes, the Turkes confederates, ethnikes, Idolaters, and very helhounds. I fthere wer nothing els to prouoke gods fury and extreme vengaunce againſt that turkiſh Valeſius the french tiraunte: but thāt he ioigneth him ſelfe in league wyth Chriſtes ſworn enemy the Turke: were it not inough to kindle, yea to enflame the wrath of God againſte him? is he a king or a deuel, a chriſtian or a luciſer, that bi his curſed

An exhortacion to manlines in the vvarres.

God is Engliſh.

The frēch Turke.

curſed confederacie ſo encourageth the Turke, that he nowe dare be bolde to venter vppon Polonia, a Chriſtian realme, whiche hath receiued the goſpel. And that way to come into Germany. Oh wicked catiſe, and fierbrand of hell, which for thincreaſing of his pompe and vayn glory (whiche he ſhall not long enioye) wil betray Chriſt and his croſſe, to his mortall enemy · Oh foliſh Germains which ſe not their owne vndoing. VVhiche conſpire not together with the reſt of chriſten Princes, to pull out ſuche a traytour to God and his kyngdome by the eares oute of Fraunce, and hange hym againſt the ſonne a drying: The deuill hath none other of his ſyde nowe, but him to mainteyne bothe the ſpirituall and the temporall Antechriſte, the Pope and the Turke: GOD can not longe ſuffer this, though he wynke a whyle at his wretchednes, and ſuffer him to ſcourge vs and other, vntil we knowe our ſelues: And after vndoubtedly he will pull his feathers, he wyll coole his courage, as he did Nabucadnezer, and others whoſe exãple he followeth: wherfore ſeynge he hath forſaken God lyke an Apoſtata, and ſolde him ſelfe to the deuell: let vs not doubte but God wilbe with vs againſt him: when ſo euer he ſhall ſeeke to wrong vs, and I truſt wyll nowe in the latter age of the worlde ſhewe his myght in cuttynge of this proude Holophernes head, by the hande of our Iudith: Oh bleſſed is that man that loſeth his lyfe againſt ſucha Termagaunt: yea more bleſſed ſhall they be that ſpende their lyues againſt hym, then againſt his great maiſter the Turke: for the Turke neuer vnderſtode the croſſe

The frẽch is Chriſtes enemy & the Turks Friende.

of Chriſte, but this Iulian Apoſtata, is named a deuelles name: Chriſtianiſſimus. And is in the verye harte of Chriſtendome: and lyke a traitorous Saracene is Chriſtes enemy. Secondarely what people be they with whome we ſhall matche: are they Giaunts, are they conquerours, or monarks of the world? No good Engliſhe man they be effeminate Frenchmen: Stoute in bragge, but nothing in dede. They be ſuch as you haue alwayes made to take their heles. They be your ſlaues and tributaries: whoſe Caſtels, Cyties, and townes, you haue poſſeſſed, whoſe armies you haue not ones but. 500. tymes diſcõfited, whoſe noble men you haue manfully killed, ſpoyled their countrey, brent their cities, taken their kynges, and crowned your owne, in the chiefeſt cytie of their dominion, as their owne hiſtories do teſtifie. Remember our auncettors victories at Crauantum, at Vernolium, about Amias, in the borders of Normandy, at Creſſiacum, at Dagincourt, when ſome tyme they killed. 2000. ſome tyme. 3000. VVhen they had in the fiielde againſt vs to helpe them the king of Boheme, the kyng of Scottes, the kyng of Nauare, the Duke of Lotharinge, the Duke of Flaunders, and 26. ſtraunge earles. Yea their hiſtories doo confeſſe that we haue forer handled them: then euer the Romains were able to doo. At this daye the Germaines that come home out of their warres ſaye: That the Franſois are more afraied of the Englyſhe then of any nacion: And it is no maruaile, for we haue thorow Gods help euer had the better of thẽ: Only this was our faulte, whiche was alſo Hanniballes, that we could

The frẽch manhod is not to be feared.

Tillius in Chrono. Cuminius de bello Burgund. Pol. Virg.

Till. an. 1339.

The Engliſhemẽs fault.

coulde conquere them when we lyſte: but we coulde not vſe the victorye, in kepynge that we hadde got, whiche was oure negligence and not lacke of manhode. In oure tyme what good forune haue we had againſt them? Howe dyd Kynge Henry the eyght Scourge them? In his youthe, wanne Turwyne and Turney, and in his age Bulloigne, Blackneſte, Newe hauen, Tholde man, and all that countrey. VVhen durſt theſe meacockes mete vs in the field? or if they did: went they not weepynge awaye? This courage was in our Auncettors, that they thought it a ſport to warre with the Frenche men: They contempned them as diſhe cloutes: and ſhall we feare them as cõquerors? They inuaded them in their owne countrey: and ſhall we ſuffer them to bragge vs at oure own gates? Thei haue left vs this glory for our enheritaunce: and ſhal not we leaue it to our poſteritie? It hath ben alwayes ſayd of Thengliſhe and yet is (as of the Ombri) that either they will wynne or they will die. Oh ſhall we ſuffer this honour to be taken from vs in our dayes? Shall not we leaue it aſwell to oure children: as our progenitors left it to vs? Tuſſhe feare neither their horſe nor their gunnes: For when they haue the ſeas at their backes, in ſteade of their foxe holes, wherinto they alwayes crepe, and the black byll at their noſes, our arrowes in their ſides, and Engliſh mẽs lokes in their eies: they wilbe ſo perplexed that they can not tel where to wynde thẽ. Then remẽber that for this. 110. yeares our aũcettors haue ſcourged thẽ, & kept this noble yle ſpite of the deuil & them. Sauing that VVilliam of Normãdy crept in among

The commõ report of th' Englyſhe.

Tillius polyd.

vs through the cyuill warre of twoo brethren, Herald and Toſton. And yet what did he? He leſte his poſteritie to reigne, which were rather by tyme turned to be Englyſhe: then the noble Englyſhe, to becomme Frenche, as oure tongue and maners at this daye declareth, whiche differeth very lytle from our Auncettors the valyaunt Saxones. VVe haue a fewe hunting termes and pedlars Erenche in the louſye lawe, brought in by the Normanes, yet remayning: But the language and cuſtomes bee Englyſhe and Saxonyſhe. I can not tell what Frenche bloude is left. But if there be any Frenche hartes, I woulde they hadde to it the Mall Francois, whiche is their countreymens enheritaunce: Beſydes this you haue the pidlyng Scottes, whiche are alwayes Frenche for their lyues. So we haue had them alwayes, we neuer had to doo with the one, but we hadde the other buſy againſt vs. For they haue bene and are to vs as the Philiſtines, Iebuſites, Amalechites, &c. were to Gods people prickes and thornes in oure ſydes, to keepe vs from pryde, or as the Samnites, were to the Romaines rather to exerciſe vs in warres, then that they were euer hable to doo vs any diſpleaſure: how ofte haue we inuaded them, euen to the harte of their coũtrey, made notable ſlaughters, killed their kings, takẽ their nobles, and did in maner what we liſt: our victories of late days as Flodõ field, Muſſelborough field, Saint Catherines daye and other, declare that our borders nede more to feare the ſtealyng of their cattel: thẽ any inuadig of our coũtrie. And that wher to they truſt moſt: ſhalbe theyr greateſt cõfuſiõ, and our greateſt

VVe be the Saxõs poſteritie.

greateſt helpe, I mean the commyng in of the Frēch men into theyr countrie. For nether the begerlines of the land, wilbe able to fede the ſine mouthed frēch mē, nor the nature of the Scotts can long ſuffer their yocke, and ſo wyll they together by the eares. Thus haue we nothing to diſmay vs, but al thyng to encorage vs. God to fyght for vs, the ſtrength of our land the courage of our men, the goodnes of the ſoyle, to geue vs to maintaine warre, the wekenes of our enemies, ouer whom we haue rained, and triūphed, the ryght of the quarrel. And to conclude all likelihode of victory to make vs rather to contēn thē then fear them. VVherefore, if thou beiſt a man: ſhrinke not. If thou beiſt a good Subiect, ſeke no excuſes. As one did, when a Noble man muſtred his men towardes Bolloigne. One, among the reſt, which deſired to tary at home, ether becauſe thei hadd ſome diſeaſe, or wer in ſome part lame, or had ſome ſuch impedimēt ſeing that diuers wer excuſed, deſired that he might tari at home alſo. Nay ſaith the noble man, thou art a tall fellowe, yonng and luſty, hable to the King ſeruice, thou muſt nedes go. Alas ſyr quod he, I haue an impediment, I cannot go. Vvhat is that ſayd the noble man. Mary my hart faileth me ſyr, quod he. Yea ſaith the noble man, is that thy impediment, in dede thou canſt not haue a wurſſe. But I wyll remedie the of that with an halfepeny halter, if there be no other helpe. Suche whyte liuered mylke ſoppes be no true Englyſh, for thei lacke tholde Engliſhe hartes.

¶ Nowe therfore, it is all our duties, to be in euery wiſe be obedient to gods liuetenaunt our ſouereign,

Our duty of obedi-ence,

in forwardnes, and helping her both with our goods londes, and bodies, when nede is, euerye man in hys callyng. If we do not: we fyrſt prouoke Gods wrath agaynſt vs, to poure downe his vengeaunce vppon vs, eiher by ſicknes and plagues, or by openinge the mouthe of the earth, and hell to ſwallowe vs, to the dongeon of damnation, as Corah, Dathan and Abiram, or to ſend vs a tirãt, in ſtead of a louiug Quene and mother to raigne ouer vs: or by turning the hart of the prince through our vnkindnes, churliſhnes, & rebellion, from vs. That where as ſhe loued vs', and truſted vs: ſhe muſt be greeued and ſuſpecte vs. And what prouoketh Princes to be lyons, and ſeuere, yea maketh them tyrants? but the frowardnes, the churliſhnes, the kicking and diſobedience of the vnnaturàl ſubiectes, as Thucydides ſayth of Harmodius, and Ariſtogeiton, which by the cowarde kyllinge of Hipperchus made Hippias to be a fraied, thei would do the lyke to him. And therupon gat hym a garde about hym, cut his ſubiects ſhorter, gaue them leſſe libertie, ſhewed them the leſſe loue, ioyned himſelfe with other kinges, to make him ſtrong, made harder lawes. VVhere as before he ruled curteouſlye, brake no olde lawes, nor vexed them not. The frowardnes of the people is a great matter to alienate the princes mynde from them: wherefore, if thou wylt haue a good kyng or Quene: playe thou the good ſubiect. And if thei be of nature enclined to clemencie: prouoke them not to fury. If thei be not: rather ſtudy to wynne them by obedience, then to exaſpetate them by Rebellion. It is for the ſynnes of the people that

Nu. 16.

Thucyd. li. 6.

God

God ſuffereth tirantes to raign. For if the people did their dutie: God would rewarde them with mercy. By diſobedience to thy head, what gaineſt thou? but fyrſt as I ſay, Gods wrath, next thi rulers diſpleaſure which as Salomon ſaith: is death. 3. Trouble of thine owne mynd, while thou kickeſt agaynſt the pricke. Then the daunger of thi countrey, in that by thy diſobedience, thou openeſt agate, to let in thy common enemy, both to thy countries and thine owne vndoing. Thou prouokeſt thi prince to hedge the in, with many lawes, which is fyrſt thy deſerte, and after thy hurt. For as Arceſilaus ſayd, where there be manye Phiſicians and Poticaries: it is a ſigne there be many diſeaſes: So wher be many lawes: it is a tokē of much diſobedience. Laſt of al, thou art ſure, if God puniſh the not here: yet ſhalte thou not go ſcott free in the world to come. Loke vpō the Iewes at this day, who for their rebellious and vnquiet nature, are ſcattered abrode in the world, their cities deſtroied, their coūtrie deſolate, and their name abhorred. And who redeth Ioſephus ſhal ſe, that it could not be otherwiſe. For there was neuer vnder the ſōne ſuch a rebellious people. I graunt that the chefe cauſe was, the refuſall of Chriſt, but God puniſhed that ſinne with a nother by ſending them vnbuxome hartes, wherbi thei might purchaſſe their owne deſtruction. As it came to paſſe at the laſt, to the terror of all rebellious and ſeditious nacions. VVhat made Scicilia that noble ile to be ſo toſſed and turmoiled, as it was? Firſt betwixt the olde Atheniences the Lacedemonians and after that betwixt the Romains and Carthagiens: but diſcorde

The gain of diſobedience.

Pro. 16

Arceſilaus

Then gather vvhat vve bee in England.

Ioſeph de capt.

The rebellion of the Ievves.

Thucyd, Polyb. Lin.

Scic lia.

Thucyd.

England cõquered by discord

vvhat preserueth cõmon vvelthes.

The calof the seditious.

discord among them selues, and diobediẽce to their rulers? what made the romains so sone to ouerthrow Grece: but that manye cities refused to be gouerned by the Atheniens and some other by the Macedonians and others by other, so that it was an easy matter to win those countries, that by ciuill warre and disobedience had lost and vndon them selues: what made either Dane or Normand to sette his fote in this noble realm: but werines in the subiectes of their own naturall rulers, and malicious desire to haue innouacions? This hath ben the vndoing of all countries to be loth to obey, and readye to rebell. Contrariwise where good concorde, and brotherlye vnitie, where loyaltie and obedience is: there muste neades bee a sure state, as Solon being asked what preserued a cõmon wealthe, answered when the subiectes obey the magistrates, and the magistrates the lawes. This hathe kept the Venetians common welth so longe, and so many hundreth yeres in tranquilitie and honor, in that they haue sought to reuerence good lawes ād obey their maiestrats, not because their Aristocratie is the best kynd of Gouernment (as by no meanes it is nether by reason, experiẽce, nor iudgement of Philosophers. Let vs therfore contende wyth them, in that preserueth them, whiche is humble obedience, faythfulnes, and true seruice to our countrie, and the head therof. And thinke that it is the call of Sathan, that moueth vs to the contrary, to entangle vs lyke a cunnyng fouler, vsinge such a voyce as we lyke, in the net of destruction, both of body and soule. If we obey, and do our dutie: all the blessinges of God shal be pou-

be poured vpon vs. VVe ſhall lyue in peace bothe of bodie and mynde, with leyſure and libertie to ſerue God freely, without feare of thennemie to encombre vs in our poſſeſſions, or drede of Antechriſte to vexe our conſcience. Our land ſhall haue Raine and ſunne ſhine in dewe ſeaſon, our cornes and frutes ſhall proſper, our cattell and goodes ſhall encreace, oure bodies ſhalbe without diſeaſes, our myndes quiet without croſſes, our wiues ſhall not be barrē, our childrē no vnthriftes, our ſeruauntes no loyterours, nor pickers, our neighbours not enuious but louinge, oure counſellours wyſe and prudēt, our men of warre courageious, our preachers faithful and not lordlyke, our lawyers not couetous, our iuſtices no bribares, oure lordes and noble men no fooles, our officers no hādmakers, and our gouernors no tyrauntes. For where as God ſaieth elles **Dabo vobis regem in ira mea.** I will geue them a kyng when I am angry, to anger them: He ſhall then ſaye to the contrary, **Conſtituam ſuper illos vnctum meum qui regnabit inter illos in æternum.** I wyll apoint them a prince that they ſhall neuer bee wery of, nor that ſhal deale with them vncurteouſly. Do you not heare how lamētably your natural mother your countrey of Englād, calleth vpon you for obediēces ſaying. Oh, remēber remēber my dear children in what caſe you ſtāde, your enemies be roūd about you, lyke vnſaciable rauenours to pluck me frō you, to caſt you out of my lap where I haue this.110 yeres lyke a faithful mother nouriſhed you, a tyme ſufficiēt for me I trow to know you, & you me. I haue bene and am glad of you, I delight and reioyce in

All good things folowe obedience.

Oſe. 13.

Englādes voyce to hir childrē

you, aboue all other peoples. In declaracio wherof I haue alwayes ſpued out & caſt fro me Danes, Frēche, Norwegiās, and Scottes. I could brooke none of thē for the tender loue that I bare vnto you, of whome I haue my name. I neuer denyed to miniſter to you my ſingular cōmodities, which God hath lent me for you, as corne and cattell, lande and paſture, wull and cloth, lead and tynne, fleſhe & fiſhe, gold and ſiluer, and all my other treaſures: I haue poured them out among you, and enriched you aboue all your neighbours about you: which make them to enuie you, & couet me. Beſides this God hathe brought forthe in me, the greateſt and excellēteſt treaſure that he hath, for your comfort and al the worldes. He would that out of my wombe ſhould come that ſeruaunt of his your brother Ihō VVycleſe, who begate Huſſe, who begat Luther, who begat truth. VVhat greter honor could you or I haue, then that it pleaſed Chriſt as it were in a ſecond birth to be borne again of me amōg you? And will you now ſuffer me, or rather by your diſobedience purchaſe me, to be a mother withoute my childrē, and to be made the nurſe of a ſorte of infideles Idolaters and Turkes? Can I abide to be without you, or can you be cōtent to be without me? Oh God graunt that I neuer ſe the day that the baſterdly brode of ambytious frenche men, eate and enioy the frutes whiche I prepare for you my deare chyldren: Lette me rather ſatiſfie my thirſte with their effeminate bloud, then they ſhould pluck from you my motherly breaſtes: Sticke to youre mother, as ſhe

Englandes liberalitie toward hir children.

Chriſtes ſecond birth in Englād.

ſticketh to you. Let me keepe in quiet and feede as I haue done your wyues, your children, and your kinſfolkes: Obey your miſtres and mine which God hath made lady ouer vs, bothe by nature and lawe. You can not be my children, if you be not her ſubiectes: I wyll none of you, if you will none of hir. If you loue me you can not hate hir, as my hope is you doo not: if you obey her, honour hir, and loue hir, be you aſſured that I wyll not fayle you at your neede, with any of my good frutes that you can requyre: I wyll fill your boſomes and your mouthes, your wyues, and your children, with plentie. And if your enemies come againſt you, I will ſound ſo terrible againſt them, that their hartes ſhall fayle them to come of the Seas and treade vpon me. I wyll not ſuffer ſo vyle a nacion to remayne quietly, or to haue any fotinge in me: wherfore as a friende I exhorte you, and as a mother require you (my dere Englyſh chyldren,) to knyt your ſelues together with brotherly loue, and with vnfained obedience, to defende me and my gouerneſſe agaynſt thoſe your auncient enemies, whiche euer were in feare of you and yet be. If they attempte any thinge againſte me, playe the men, and honour me with the ſacrifice of their heads and carcaſes. Then ſhall I thynke that you bee no mungrelles but the trewe poſteritie of my auncient childrē the olde Engliſh mē, which by their valiaūtneſſe made me lady of Fraunce, and gouerneſſe of al their chefe cyties, follow your fathers ſteps, & defēd your mothers honour. Be no ſlaues wher you haue

lordes, nor ſubiectes, where you haue bene rulers.

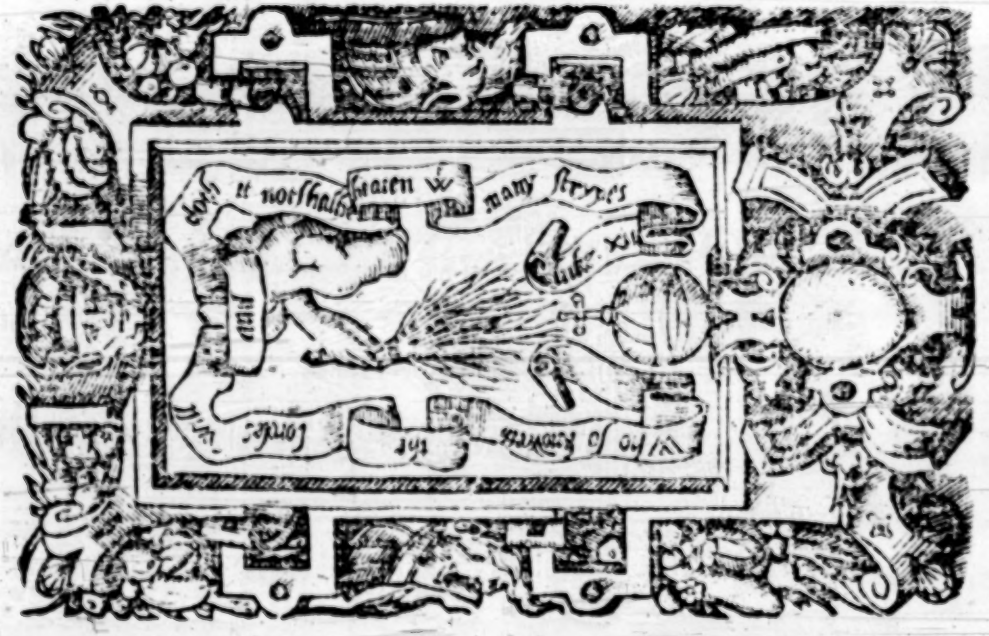
¶ Thus good trew harted Engliſhe men, ſpeaketh your countrey vnto you, not in worde but in deede. VVherfore geue no dulle eare to hir, nor harken not to any vayne blaſtes or voyces whiche maye drawe you from the loue of your coũtrey, from the ſauing of your ſelues, and & the defẽce of your ſouereigne. You ſhall finde loue for your obedience, faithe for your truthe, care and ſtudy to kepe you, for your redy good will to obey hir. Let no enchauntment bewitche you. Let no ſpiririte deceaue you. Let no ſtraunger make you ſtraungers to your ſelues. You ſee their reaſõs be triſles & their wordes but wynde, whiche goo aboute by their bluſterynge blaſtes to blowe you, fyrſt from youre dutie to God, whiche commaundeth you to obeye youre Rulars, next from your faith whiche you owe to your prince, for that care and loue whiche ſhe beareth toward you. And laſt of all from your quiet and countrey: which you can not enioye, but by doing your dutie in obeying. Let vs therfore good brethren I beſeche you in the tẽder mercies of God, in the bowelles of Chriſte, ſtoppe our eares from hearing, ſtaye our myndes frõ conceauing, and ſhut vp our mouthes from vttering any ſuche venyme or poyſon: whiche theſe mountbankes brynge out of our enemies lande, to infecte, poyſon, and corrupt vs, vnder the pretence of playſters to ſalue vs.

¶ Let vs heare God rather then man, which crieth and commaundeth vpon payne of dampnacion, to obey his lieutenaũt and ſupreme officer: Againſt whõ we can

we cannot kicke, but we muſt be Gods enemies, falſe ſubiectes, and Satans ſeruantes.

¶ Let vs ſeke to requite her with thankfulnes, which ſtudieth to kepe vs in quietnes. Let vs daylye call to God with lifted vp heartes and handes, for her preſeruation and long lyfe: that ſhe may many yeares cary the ſworde of our defence, and there with cutt of the head of that Hidra, the Antichriſt of Rome, in ſuche ſort, as it neuer growe againe in this realme of England: that Gods glory maye flory ſhe, good mens conſcience may be at reſt, this noble Realme in honor, & the Quenes Maieſtie in long felicitie, which God grauut.

Amen.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